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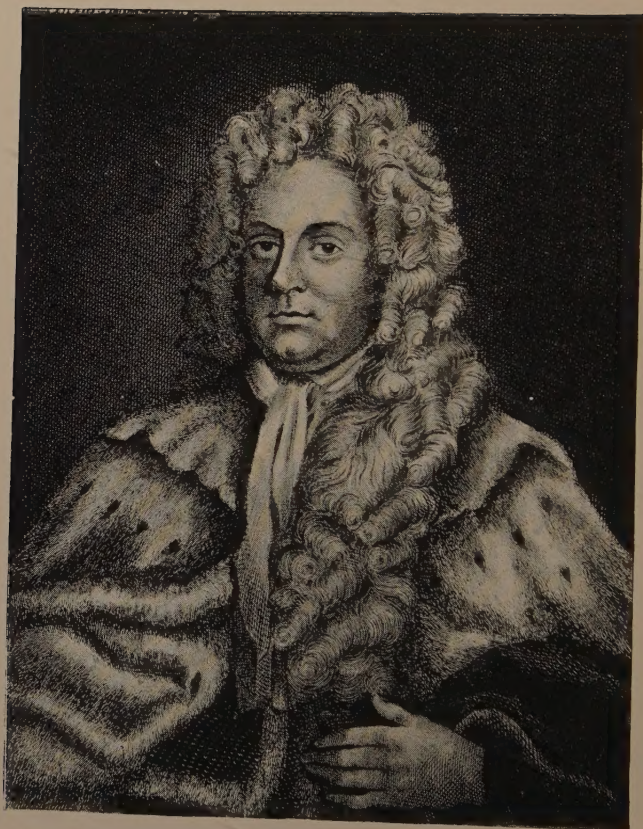
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THE
PRINCELY CHANDOS.

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James  Brydges.
First Duke of Chandos.

Frontispiece.

THE
PRINCELY CHANDOS

A Memoir

OF

JAMES BRYDGES

PAYMASTER-GENERAL TO THE FORCES ABROAD DURING THE
MOST BRILLIANT PART OF THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH'S
MILITARY CAREER, 1705—1711

AFTERWARDS

THE FIRST DUKE OF CHANDOS

BY

JOHN ROBERT ROBINSON

"At Timon's villa let us pass a day."

ALEXANDER POPE.

ILLUSTRATED

LONDON
SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON & COMPANY

Limited

St. Dunstan's House

FETTER LANE, FLEET STREET, E.C.

1893

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PREFACE.

AMONG the many remarkable personages of the time of Queen Anne and the early Georgian period, James Brydges, the first Duke of Chandos, is conspicuous.

His almost regal style of living, and his magnanimous conduct, induced the people of those times to add to the ducal style the prefix "Grand," and subsequently "Princely"; hence the title of this volume. Questions respecting the Duke of Chandos and his palace of Canons frequently occur in literary and other periodicals, no doubt because there has hitherto been no authentic record of his career.

While the Duke of Chandos, then Mr. Brydges, still held the post of Paymaster to

the Forces abroad, an inquiry into the accounts of that and other Government offices was instituted by Parliament. The Duke was fortunate enough to escape direct censure at the hands of the Commons; but it is certain that the foundation of his fortune was laid during his tenure of that office.

Upon vacating the office of Paymaster, and inheriting the family title and estates, Lord Chandos found leisure to erect the magnificent palace and lay out the grounds of Canons—destined hardly to outlast the life of their owner.

Much curiosity still exists respecting the edifice and its surroundings, no picture, print, or drawing representing Canons as a whole being known. Nor has any description hitherto appeared in print that will help to reproduce the once famous building and grounds. The author trusts he has accomplished this task in the following pages.

Attention is directed to the fact, that in the numerous works which treat of the military

career of the Duke of Marlborough no allusion is made to the friendship that appears (by their correspondence) to have existed between the Duke and Mr. Brydges, then his Paymaster.

Upon the wane of the Duke of Chandos' fortunes there were not wanting some who took the opportunity of misrepresenting his purposes and professions, and this the public resented in one notorious instance—that of Pope. The Duke's generous and magnanimous disposition stood him in good stead when deserted by the fickle goddess, Fortune. It is to be regretted, however, that at this period an erroneous rumour concerning the birth and social position of the Duke's third wife gained credence which has been handed down to the present day. The author has finally disposed of an injurious popular error.

He has endeavoured to place before the public a work not only historically accurate and of use for reference, but generally entertaining, on a subject hitherto treated in short articles in biographical works, and these in many instances untrustworthy.

The author begs to acknowledge the courteous replies which he has received to the communications addressed to many persons in the course of his investigations. Also for the assistance received in the course of his work from Mr. H. H. Robinson, whom he has also to thank for aid in selecting the illustrations.

LONDON, *Feb.*, 1893.

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THE PRINCELY CHANDOS.

CHAPTER I.

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THE family of Brydges, Bridges, Brigge, Bruges, Burgh or Brugge, claims descent from Arnulp, fifth and youngest son of Roger de Montgomery, first Earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury, who led the centre of Duke William's army at the battle of Hastings. Arnulp—following the custom of Cadets in those times—styled himself de Brugge, after his father's castle in Shropshire. Such, in

brief, is the alleged Norman descent of the house, whose real founder was one Sir Simon de Brugge,—who flourished in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I.,—and became lord of Bruges-Solers in Herefordshire, by his marriage with the heiress of the family of Solers. His grandson, Sir Thomas de Brugge, married Alice, daughter and co-heir of Sir Thomas Berkeley and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Thomas, Lord Chandos. By this marriage some portion of the Chandos possessions was brought into the Brydges family. An ancestor in the fourth generation was the first of this family to be ennobled, being created, by Queen Mary in 1554, Baron Chandos of Sudeley, which manor and castle were granted him at the same time. This title in its eighth descent was inherited by James Brydges, cousin of the seventh lord, and father of James Brydges, afterwards the first Duke of Chandos.

James Brydges was born on the 6th day of January, 1673, and was baptized on the 12th of the same month at Dewsall, Herefordshire. After passing through the periods of childhood and adolescence without developing marked characteristics he was sent for the completion of his education as a Fellow Commoner to New College Hall, Oxford. Here he finished his studies, and

displayed those powers of reflection and observation that ultimately made him famous. Before embarking on a public career he married Mary, daughter and afterwards heiress of Sir Thomas Lake of Canons near Edgware, Middlesex. In 1698 he entered the House of Commons as one of the members for Hereford. His family were no strangers to that Assembly; some of its members having sat for Cricklade, and the County of Gloucester, in previous reigns. In Edward II.'s time a Sir John de Brugge is recorded as one of the Knights of the Shire for the county of Hereford in the parliament held at York.

After a probation of three years, the heir to the Barony of Chandos—having obtained a footing in the political arena—acquired by assiduousness, coupled with a desire for office, some marks of favour at the hands of the House. On the 14th of June, 1701, he was deputed to carry up to the Lords the six articles of impeachment against Charles, Lord Halifax. The articles are so extraordinary that a brief *résumé* of them will not be out of place.

Article I. That he presumed to advise, pass or direct a grant to Thomas Railton, Esq., of forfeited estates and debts in Ireland, to the value of 13,000*l*.

Answer. His Lordship admitted he accepted the grant, as it was lawful for him to do, though it had been taken from him by Act of Parliament, thereby not making more than 400*l.* of it.

Article II. That he had not paid into the Exchequer of Ireland, as the Act of Forfeiture required, 1000*l.* that he had actually received out of the forementioned grants.

Answer. That monies received, being out of the mean profits (remitted by the Act), were not in the first mentioned clause of the same.

Article III. That he did obtain and accept several beneficial grants for himself, which was a monstrous abuse of his Majesty's goodness.

Answer. He admitted the acceptance of such grants, as marks of his Majesty's Royal favour.

Article IV. That he procured a grant to Henry Segar in trust for himself of 14,000*l.* worth of scrubbed beech, birch, etc., under colour of which, sapling oaks, and many trees of well-grown timber, had been cut and sold for his benefit.

Answer. He admitted a grant of 2000*l.* per annum for seven years, to be raised by the fall of scrubbed beech, etc., and if any abuse had been done in cutting the wood, he was not answerable for the same, such being done by the direction of his Majesty's Surveyor-General and other officers.

Article V. Appertains to the auditor's office.

Answer. He admitted having been one of the auditors of the Exchequer.

Article VI. Relates to the Partition Treaty.

Answer. He denied having advised his Majesty to make the treaty, nor was he even consulted on any of its clauses, though the subject was discussed at Tunbridge Wells, when he made several objections to the same.

An historian¹ of those times expresses surprise that such articles should be passed by an English House of Commons, and be carried up to the Peers. Their Lordships dismissed these impeachments against Lord Halifax on the 24th of June following (and a few days after the acquittal of John, Lord Somers, from the charges alleged in the articles exhibited against him).

Mr. Brydges, as a Whig, again played the part of champion against "Help yourself grants;" moving a resolution to the following effect:—

"That any minister who had been concerned in passing a grant for his own benefit, while the nation was under the heavy taxes of the late war, had vitiated his trust, etc., etc." This motion was most artfully contrived! Brought forward as an abstract truth (without naming Somers, or any one in particular), the House, by admitting it

. ¹ Oldmixon.

as a substantive resolution, would be compelled to conclude that Lord Somers had violated his trust by accepting King William's grant of Crown property at Reigate. This conclusion the motion was intended to convey. Sir Richard Gwyn fearlessly unmasked the attack, saying,¹ "Why this reserve? everybody knows your meaning, and sees you have not the courage to name the great man whom you are seeking to destroy."

Mr. Brydges answered this declamation by crying out, "That's false!" Thereon a violent altercation ensued, and ultimately the House (in this instance) refused to adopt so un-English a procedure as the censure of a great minister, vetoing the resolution by a majority of 50 out of 419 members present.

These two incidents occurred before Mr. Brydges held any Government office.

One of the most important commissions Mr. Brydges was appointed on, was that to inquire into the accounts relating to the Earl of Ranelagh. The result of this examination by Brydges and his fellow-commissioners, Messrs. H. St. John, Bromley, Coke, Scobell, Copley and Byerley, is best shown by the resolution passed by the Commons on December 5th, 1703, to the

¹ Macaulay's History of England.

effect, "That it appears to this House that the Earl of Ranelagh hath misappropriated several sums of the public money." On the 1st of the following February the Earl was expelled the House.

That Mr. Brydges at this period was particularly careful of the National Exchequer, the following proves.¹ One Thomas Wolfstenholme petitioned the Lord High Treasurer *circa* December 14th, 1703, as to certain sureties accepted by him when receiver of duties from the English plantations (he having lately become insolvent), praying to be heard by counsel, and proceedings stayed. Minute endorsed on petition, "My Lord will speak with ye Commissioners next time they come." This was read again on the 20th, when Mr. Attorney-General said, "If he used the best endeavours, and the sureties afterwards became insufficient, the verdict would be for the petitioner."

But Mr. Brydges said that the sureties were insufficient at the time, and the commissioners say he took "insufficient securities."

To one presumably so anxious for the National welfare as Mr. Brydges, it was apparent that such openly expressed opinions against all forms

¹ Redington's Calendar of Treasury Papers.

of fraud must soon be rewarded with a lucrative post. Therefore, so soon as the various governmental changes under the new Sovereign, Anne, were effected, Mr. Brydges was appointed, early in 1705, an Auditor of the Imprest, and shortly after was made Paymaster-General to the Forces abroad. This latter appointment is frequently mentioned as being bestowed in 1707. But a congratulatory letter¹ from the Duke of Marlborough—who should know if anyone did who was paymaster of his troops—proves the earlier date to be correct.

The petition of Mr. Henry Cartwright,² dated July 31st, 1705, testifies that Mr. Brydges was then in full authority as paymaster. The petitioner prays the Lord High Treasurer to allow him to accept the office of Deputy Paymaster-General, offered him by Mr. Brydges. This he could not do without his Lordship's permission, being secretary to the controller of the accounts for the army. If he might accept Mr. Brydges' appointment, he could nominate a person to succeed him in the secretaryship, who would resign, should he require the office again. This petition is minuted (same date), "My Lord has nothing to object against Mr. Brydges employing Mr.

¹ Vide App. A. ² Redington's Calendar of Treasury Papers.

Cartwright, but he cannot properly execute both employments ; therefore some other person must be appointed secretary to the comptrollers."

During this year, 1705, Mr. Brydges' brother, the Rev. Henry Brydges, being at Aleppo, was asked to take charge, on his voyage to England in the Turkey Company's ship *Ipswich* (commanded by Captain Watkins), of an Arabian horse, sent by Thomas Darley of that place, as a present to his brother, John Renter Darley of Aldby Park near York. This animal became known later as the celebrated Darley Arabian, whose blood still runs in some of our equine favourites.

Lord Chandos, father of the gentlemen above mentioned, was, in 1680, sent as ¹ Ambassador to the Porte by the Levant—commonly known as the Turkey—Company : a large and wealthy Corporation, whose affairs he was interested in, having married a daughter of Sir Henry Barnard, an affluent Turkey merchant. This accounts no doubt for the Rev. Henry Brydges' presence on one of that Company's vessels, as well as for Mr. Thomas Darley's trust and obligation to him, as a son of one of its principal officers.

¹ This power the Company possessed by their Charter.

CHAPTER II.

Mr. Brydges' voice seldom heard in the Commons after receiving his appointment—He goes to Flanders—Letter sent to some one in Treasury by Mr. Brydges with a *douceur*—Complaint against Mr. Brydges for not sending in accounts—Appointed to the Council of Prince George at the Admiralty—Characters of Lord Chandos and his son from MS.—Dean Swift's allusion to them—Mr. Brydges remits to the army in Spain—Requests immediate receipts and vouchers for Lord Treasurer—Mr. Brydges again returned for Hereford—Receives letter of congratulation from Duke of Marlborough—Mr. Brydges made a F.R.S.—Letter from the Duke of Marlborough thanking Mr. Brydges for his professions—Mr. Brydges votes for a repeal of the Act of Limitations—Report of Mr. Auditor Harley upon some of Mr. Brydges' accounts—Privy Seal ordered to issue thereon—Letter from the Duke of Marlborough thanking Mr. Brydges for his congratulations, &c.—Another from his Grace intimating he was glad his duchess had prevented Mr. Brydges from applying for another office—Lord Treasurer Godolphin dismissed—Apparent anxiety of Mr. Brydges thereon—Despatches particulars to the Duke of Marlborough—His Grace's reply, and further requests for remittances for the Foreign troops.

MR. BRYDGES having obtained a lucrative appointment, that occupied much time and attention, his voice was now but little heard in the Commons.

Nor does much matter of interest occur during the first few years in which he held the office of Paymaster-General, with the exception of the following incidents which are briefly noticed. During 1706 Mr. Brydges went to Flanders, in connection with some mode or means of making remittances to the Forces. While there he appears to have misconstrued an order of the Lord High Treasurer's, respecting the profits on Exchange. This he acknowledges¹ in a letter dated Brussels, August 2nd, 1706, addressed to his lordship, in which he apologizes for mistaking his commands in reference to the profit on exchange, "And that he should look upon it as the greatest unhappiness that could befall him if any wrong interpretation he should make of his Lordship's orders, should create the least dissatisfaction imaginable to his Lordship, or his administration. He thought it best to make haste back to the army to prevent any wrong impressions."

Amongst other documents relating to Mr. Brydges (in the abstract of the Treasury² papers), is a letter dated October 7th, 1707, written by Mr. Brydges—but unaddressed—probably to some one in the Treasury. In it he apologizes for not making his acknowledgments sooner

¹ Redington's Calendar of Treasury Papers.

² Ibid.

—alleging the dispatch of business—and as a small instance of his gratitude, asks the acceptance of the “Bill” enclosed. This must not be read in the commercial sense of the present day, the bill being a bank bill or note, probably intended as a silver key.

On the 29th of the same month, October, 1707, complaint was made by Mr. Lowndes, that Mr. Brydges had neglected to send him fortnightly certificates of Receipts and Payments made to the forces. This, he points out, the Lord Treasurer had personally directed should be done, and requests that they be sent forthwith, as well as an account of the monies for the Forces in Spain. His demand, it is safe to assume, was complied with, as no further request for these documents appears.

Mr. Brydges received another mark of favour about this time, being called to the Council of Prince George of Denmark, in the affairs of the Admiralty. The appointment is alluded to in one of the Harleian MSS. entitled “Characters of Great Men in the early part of Queen Anne’s Reign,” thus :—

“James Brydges, Lord Chandos, was warm against King William’s reign, nor does he make any great figure in this ; but his son, Mr. Brydges,

does, being of the House of Commons, one of the chancellors to the prince, and a very worthy gentleman."

Dean Swift, in his characters of the court of Queen Anne, enlarged upon this, calling Chandos "a very worthy gentleman, but a great complier with every court."

A remittance of 75,490*l.* was sent, on March 2nd, 1707-8, by Mr. Brydges to Mr. Morice, on account of the army in Spain,¹ with directions to send every farthing up to the person addressed, at the first opportunity. This would pay all the troops up to the end of June. All payments for the future must be for effectives only. . . . He further desired an account of all receipts and payments to be sent him, as this had been asked for several times by the Lord High Treasurer as well as by the parliament, who were not a little uneasy that winter, because no accounts had been returned. By this it appears that the pay of the Forces in Spain was in arrears, and that no vouchers had been submitted to the Treasurer, or the Commons. So matters progressed.

In the second parliament of Anne, 1708, Mr. Brydges met with some opposition in his second candidature for the City of Hereford. He was,

¹ Redington's Calendar of Treasury Papers.

however, ultimately returned, but not at the head of the poll as in 1707, his former fellow-member, Thomas Foley, being first favourite. Nevertheless, had Mr. Brydges been unsuccessful, the representation of another constituency was kept open for him by friends, who deemed Mr. Brydges too useful a man to be out of parliament. This opinion was likewise held by his, then, friend, the Duke of Marlborough,¹ whose communication to him at that period tends to show that the Duke and Mr. Brydges perfectly understood each other. It is difficult to imagine that Mr. Brydges could have held his appointment so long as he did, when Marlborough was all powerful, had he not perfectly satisfied the "Great Duke."

That the cares of office, coupled with parliamentary duties, did not exhaust all Mr. Brydges' energies, is proved by his becoming a Fellow of the Royal Society at this period. The Royal Society then consisted of a governing body of 20 Councillors together with 174 Fellows, of whom 50 were foreign members. Mr. Brydges, however, is not recorded as taking such a part in its affairs as would tend to interfere with his other duties.

¹ Vide Appendix B.

The allusion made to the *entente cordiale* that existed between the Duke of Marlborough and Mr. Brydges is strengthened by a further communication¹ from his Grace. Its tenour shows that Mr. Brydges did not neglect to give the Duke his opinion on anything that transpired affecting him.

That Mr. Brydges, in a measure, changed the convictions he had held when he entered the House of Commons, is confirmed by his voting for the repeal of a clause in an Act passed the 13th and 14th of William III. and Mary II. intituled "An Act for the further limitations of the Crown," "or better securing the rights and liberties of the subject." The clause repealed by the second parliament of Anne was in these words, "That—after the limitations therein mentioned shall take effect—no person who has any office or place of profit under the king, or receives any pension from the crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons." This *in toto* was scarcely the essence of Mr. Brydges' contention in the impeachment of Lords Halifax and Somers: though the analogy is, that a person who professed such virtuous sentiments relative to the one case should do so in the other.

¹ Vide Appendix C.

On the 17th of October, 1709, Mr. Auditor Harley reported to Earl Godolphin, Lord High Treasurer, that he had examined the abstract of payments made by Mr. Brydges to the forces employed in the Low Countries during 1706, for which payments warrants were wanting. He likewise had examined the vouchers produced by the accountant for proof of such payments. Also that the abstract was the same as those of previous accounts, relating to the aforesaid forces for which Privy Seals had been granted; which authority, he thinks, will be requisite for allowing these.¹ Here follow the various sums, amounting to over half a million, with the purposes for which they were disbursed; these are not now of sufficient public interest to detail. Accordingly, in the July of the following year, the Solicitor-General approved the draft for a Privy Seal to pass the accounts. But during the inquiry into the state of the public accounts a year or so later, Mr. Auditor Harley's report appears to have been again gone into, as the following endorsement shows:—"The above is a true copy in the Honourable Mr. Auditor Harley's office of the several payments, therein stated and proposed to be allowed, and do appear to have been duly

¹ Newcastle MSS.

paid and applied by the accomptant, to the services of the war, as by his accompts appear.

“Examined by

“JAS. MOODY, *Deputy Auditor.*”

“28th August, 1712.”

This is the first mention of a Privy Seal, as relating to Mr. Brydges' accounts, though not by any means the last.

During the year 1710 more correspondence¹ took place between his Grace of Marlborough and Mr. Brydges, which further showed the good feeling that existed between them.

Mr. Brydgés, in reply to one of the Duke's letters, announced his intention of applying for an office held by Mr. Howe. But though the Duchess seems to have considered Mr. Brydges the man best suited for the position and recommended by her husband's friendship, she frustrated his application.²

Lord Treasurer Godolphin was dismissed from office soon after, an event which caused Mr. Brydges some anxiety. He quickly acquainted his Grace of Marlborough with the fullest details of Godolphin's dismissal.

¹ Vide Appendix D.

² John Howe, Paymaster of the Forces at *Home*.

His Grace replied, expressing great concern at the news, on both public and private grounds ; and approving Mr. Brydges' resolve not to resign his appointment on account of Lord Godolphin's dismissal. This correspondence further confirms the good relations that existed between the Commander-in-Chief and the Paymaster-General of the Forces abroad.

CHAPTER III.

Committee appointed by the Commons to inquire into the state of the public accounts—Report and discussion thereon—Allusion to, and statement showing the condition of Mr. Brydges' accounts—Mr. Brydges' residence in Albemarle Street damaged by fire—Continuation of correspondence with the Duke of Marlborough—His Grace continues to express regard for Mr. Brydges—Letter from Mr. St. John, Secretary for War, to Mr. Brydges—Reference to the Nicholas MSS., etc.—Letter from the Duke of Marlborough desiring to be supplied with any information that might interest him—Mr. Harley brings forward his South Sea scheme—Further report on Mr. Brydges' accounts—Letter from the Duke of Marlborough requesting Mr. Brydges' assistance in auditing payments made by Exchequer on account of Blenheim.

A COMMITTEE was shortly afterwards deputed by the House of Commons to inquire how far the several accountants had passed their respective accounts. Mr. Auditor Harley, on the 4th of April, 1711, handed the investigation to the House in the form of a report, which the committee directed him to make, whereupon it was ordered, "That it should be considered the following Tuesday;" when it was deferred first to the 17th, and afterwards to the 20th of the

same month. The House then passed the following resolution: "That of the monies voted by parliament, and issued for the public service to Christmas, 1710, they were 35,302,107*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.*, for a great part whereof no accounts had been laid before the auditors, and the rest not prosecuted by the accountants and finished." The further consideration of the report was put off till the 28th, when it was further resolved, "That the not compelling the several accountants to duly pass their respective accounts, had been a notorious breach of trust in those that of late years had had the management of the Treasury, and an high injustice to the nation." A motion was thereupon framed and put, "That the further consideration of the report be adjourned." This was negatived, whereupon it was further resolved, "That the several accountants ought no longer to be entrusted with the public money."

Having given as succinctly as possible the opinion of the Commons upon the state of the public accounts, the question arises how far this relates to Mr. Brydges. The thirty-five millions odd mentioned, consisted of some accounts as far back as the time of Charles II.;¹ which

¹ Tindal.

were thrown in to make up the amount. The largest item in the list, however, was the accounts of Mr. Brydges, amounting to some millions, of which scarcely one million had been passed, though accounts of some eleven millions had been presented but not passed in due form, owing to the great care and exactness exercised by the Duke of Newcastle,¹ whose duty it was to pass accounts. This he was slow to do, allowing nothing without hearing counsel on every item. The real figures appertaining to Mr. Brydges' office were as follows :—

“The Hon. James Brydges.

				£	s.	d.
His Charge is				£15,374,689	1	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
Discharge.						
				£	s.	d.
By accounts passed	...	...	...	956,789	6	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
„ „ before auditors	...	...	...	8,097,492	8	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
„ „ delivered since Christmas 1710	...	...	...	3,227,778	2	6
				12,282,059	17	6 $\frac{3}{4}$
To be accounted for	...	...	...	3,092,629	4	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
				£15,374,689	1	11 $\frac{1}{4}$

¹ The Duke of Newcastle held at this time, amongst other offices, that of Lord Privy Seal, hence the reason of such of these accounts—as by the then rules of the Exchequer could not be received without an authority under the Privy Seal at least—being conducted at his office.—From Speaker Onslow's notes on Burnet's History.

The foregoing implies nothing against Mr. Brydges at this time, though according to Dean Swift, during the debate on the matter, Mr. Secretary St. John was very zealous for his friend Mr. Brydges, upon whom part of the blame was falling, saying, "he did not know that either Mr. Brydges or the late ministry were at all to blame in the matter." The Dean affirms these words were very desperately spoken. So concluded the first report on the public accounts : this report was ordered to be printed; which, however, was not done, as it was found the report would indicate too pointedly those who had served both 'well and ill.'

In the early part of this year—1711—Mr. Brydges resided in Albemarle Street, next to Mr. Wyndham's, whose house was destroyed by fire, occasioning some damage to Mr. Brydges' residence.

The Duke of Marlborough and Mr. Brydges still continued their correspondence,¹ and in a communication from his Grace is found the first expression of discontent at Mr. Brydges' remittances on behalf of the forces under the Duke's command.

The zeal alluded to as being shown by Mr.

¹ Vide Appendix F.

Secretary St. John for his friend Mr. Brydges, during the debate on the state of the public accounts, doubtless led that gentleman to think that "one good turn deserved another," as he asked Mr. Brydges' kind offices in a matter relating to a Mr. Blake, with which he was much perplexed.¹ Mr. Brydges may safely be said to have performed this favour, as no other reference to it appears to have been made by Mr. St. John.

Allusions having been made to documents entitled the Nicholas papers, now in the Egerton collection of MSS., the reader is informed who that gentleman was and how far such papers are trustworthy. Edward Nicholas sat in the House of Commons for Shaftesbury, in the second parliament of Anne, afterwards holding an appointment in the Treasury. During the absence of Dr. Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, Lord Privy Seal, at the Peace of Utrecht in 1711 the office of Lord Privy Seal was for the time held under commission by Sir Joseph Beaumont, Robert Byerly and Edward Nicholas, esquires. The last-mentioned gentleman was later appointed Treasurer and Paymaster of her Majesty's pensioners. Mr. Nicholas's father had also held

¹ Vide Appendix G.

various appointments under Government at an earlier date. Mr. Nicholas thus had many opportunities for acquiring precise information, particularly with respect to matters concerning the army.

That Mr. Brydges kept the Duke of Marlborough well informed on subjects affecting their relative positions, is evidenced by a letter¹ from his Grace, wherein he desires a continuance of information.

On the 2nd of May, 1711, Mr. Harley brought forward in the House of Commons, whilst in committee upon Ways and Means, his famous motion for the formation of the South Sea scheme. As this bubble had later some bearing on the fortunes of Mr. Brydges, the sum of Mr. Harley's proposal is here briefly stated. He proposed to relieve the public of all National Debts by allowing the proprietors of such securities interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum (redeemable by vote of parliament), giving them, in addition, a charter of incorporation, conferring a monopoly of the trade to the South Seas. The supposition was that the islands when settled would yearly bring to Great Britain vast riches from Mexico and Peru. It is now

¹ Vide Appendix H.

a matter of history how this wild scheme was passed and adopted from the 24th of December of that year.¹

With respect to the state of Mr. Brydges' accounts at this period, the following report was made by the auditors to the Lord Treasurer, wherein it is stated that the Privy Seal—previously mentioned—for allowing some of the payments made without warrant, had not yet reached their hands, although the draft for its issue had been approved by the Solicitor-General.² “To the Right Honourable Robert, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain.”

“May it please your Lordship.

“By your Lordship's order of reference upon the annexed memorandum of the Honourable James Brydges, Esquire, we are directed to let your Lordship know in what forwardness his accounts are, and to request our opinion in what may be fit for you to do therein, for obedience thereunto we humbly acquaint your Lordship :—

“That Mr. Brydges has delivered in his accounts from Midsummer, 1705, to Christmas, 1709. The first of them goes to Christmas, 1705, in Ireland.

¹ See also page 113.

² Nicholas papers, Egerton MSS.

The next account ending Christmas, 1706, stops only for want of a Privy Seal, a draft of which lay before the late Lord Privy Seal, with Sir Edward Northey's opinion thereon, for the passing of it, but it is not yet come to us under seal. That pursuant to the late Lord Treasurer's directions of the 30th of June, 1710, upon reading our report on an abstract of payments made by the said Mr. Brydges for the service of the war in Holland, between the 24th of December, 1706, and the 23rd of December, 1707, for which warrants were wanting, we did then prepare and lay before his Lordship such a draft of a warrant as we thought proper, in order to the passing the Privy Seal, for allowing the sums mentioned in the said report. A copy of which report and warrant we herewith lay before your Lordship.

“We are also preparing a report which will soon be laid before your Lordship, of such of the payments for the year 1708 as need the authority of a Privy Seal, and his accounts for the year 1709 are under examination. All of which is humbly submitted.

“E. HARLEY.

“H. MAYNWARING.

“October 1st, 1711.”

This document bears endorsement, at back, as follows: "Statements of the two auditors upon the state of Mr. Brydges' accounts, dated October 1st, 1711."

The foregoing shows that the audit of Mr. Brydges' accounts was still wearily dragging along. In fact, tardiness seems to have ruled triumphant; whether for caution or as a cloak to deficiencies, subsequent events may tend to show.

On the same date as the above-mentioned report was made, the Duke of Marlborough despatched a letter¹ to Mr. Brydges, asking his assistance in auditing the payments made by the Exchequer for the erection of Blenheim. As the Duke soon after returned to England, this communication is the last one recorded as having passed between them during his Grace's absence as Commander-in-Chief of the Forces abroad.

The request contained in this letter shows that the Duke fully reciprocated the sentiments expressed by Mr. Brydges; as his Grace of Marlborough would scarcely have asked such a favour at the hands of one who did not share his fullest confidence. Moreover, the matter involved was not in any way connected with Mr. Brydges' Office. Probably his Grace thought of this when

¹ Vide Appendix I.

requesting the obligation, and thus endeavoured to procure an independent audit. It must, however, be admitted that the sentiments expressed in the preamble of this communication are most praiseworthy, and show that the Duke wished to be exact.

CHAPTER IV.

Report of the committee concerning the Duke of Marlborough and the Army accounts—Mr. Brydges' affidavit thereon—The Duke's reply to the Commissioners—Dismissal of his Grace from all appointments—Apparent coolness between the Duke and Mr. Brydges—Mr. Brydges forms resolutions for the erection of a noble mansion—Sites proposed—The one eventually selected—Extracts from Treasury Papers relating to Mr. Brydges and Mr. Sweet—Mr. Brydges purchases the assignment of a pension—Important letter from Henry St. John to Mr. Brydges.

On the 21st December, 1711, the Commissioners for examining the public accounts made a further report to the House of Commons on some practices they had discovered relating to the affairs of the army. Mr. Lockhart read the report from his seat, and afterwards handed it to the Clerk at the table.

The discovery made by the Commissioners was that the Duke of Marlborough had received from Sir Solomon de Medina, Contractor for bread to the Forces in the Low Countries, during the years 1707-11, a sum of money for his own use,

on each contract, amounting in the aggregate to some 332,425 guilders, 14 stivers. Sir Solomon deposed that it appeared from the accounts of Antonio Alvarez Machado, the contractor, who supplied the forces for the years 1702-6, that he had paid similar sums to his Grace, during the period he was contracting; these, with the amount previously stated, made a total of 664,851 guilders 8 stivers: a sum, at the then current rate of exchange, equivalent to 63,410*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.* In addition to this payment to the Duke, he had to give Mr. Cardonnell, his Grace's secretary, a *douceur* of 500 ducats in gold, upon each contract being sealed, and when he came to receive payment for his supplies he had to further submit to a deduction by Mr. Sweet, deputy-paymaster at Amsterdam, of a commission of 1 per cent.

The Duke of Marlborough, having heard of Sir Solomon's denouncement, wrote to the commissioners from the Hague, under date of November 10th, 1711, to the effect that the sums so received were no more than what had been always allowed, as a perquisite to the General commanding the army in the Low Countries; and further asserted that whatever sums had been so received were expended in the public service, for

secret intelligence, and referred to a deduction of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., (for which he held her Majesty's warrant), from the pay of the foreign troops under English colours, for defraying extraordinary expenses relating to them. This deduction, he averred, had been made a free gift to him by the Allies, concluding, that he deemed the service of the army in Flanders had been carried on with all possible economy.

The Commissioners adverted upon the Duke's letter at some length, and denied the latter part of the Duke's contention: that the deductions had been carried out in the strict sense of the royal warrant, which directed that the deduction should be made and held by the Paymaster or his deputy, and issued thence by the Duke's order only. This method does not appear by the Paymaster's accounts to have been pursued. On the contrary, such payments seem to have been made in full to the foreign troops; also, Mr. Brydges had stated on oath, that he had never seen any warrant for the purpose specified, or knew anything, as Paymaster, of such deduction. On the other hand, if Mr. Sweet, the Deputy Paymaster at Amsterdam, had thought fit to transact the disposition of this $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.,¹ with the Duke, the

¹ Amounting to a sum of 177,000*l*.

Commissioners held that he ought to have sent regular accounts of such payment to Mr. Brydges, whose only agent he was, and should certainly not have negotiated such large sums of public money clandestinely.

So far as can be ascertained, Mr. Brydges' explanation appears to have destroyed the good feeling hitherto existing between his Grace and himself, for no continuance of these friendly epistles are recorded in the volumes¹ containing copies of the Duke's correspondence; nor is it to be gathered from other sources.

The result of this report was the declaration by the Queen in Council on the 30th of the same month, "That being informed that information against the Duke of Marlborough had been laid before the Commons by the Commissioners of public accounts, she thought fit to dismiss him from all his employments, so that the matter might take an impartial examination," though her Majesty personally wrote to the Duke the day following, "That her intention was to reserve all the employments she had entrusted him with, etc., etc." But this was never fulfilled, as his Grace retired abroad, residing first at Frankfort, and afterwards at Antwerp. Having at last

¹ Murray's Marlborough's Letters and Despatches, 1845.

resolved to return to his native land, he arrived on the day of her Majesty's decease.

King George I., soon after his accession, re-appointed his Grace Commander-in-Chief; but the appointment did not carry the power he had previously enjoyed.

With the advent of the year 1712, Mr. Brydges formed those resolutions which ultimately resulted in the raising of one of the most sumptuous and costly mansions ever erected in this country. It has been stated previously that Mr. Brydges married Mary, daughter, and ultimately heiress of Sir Thomas Lake, grandson of the Secretary of State to that modern Solomon, King James I. Sir Thomas had purchased the estate of Canons, near Edgware, Middlesex, from Sir Hugh Losse. The estate ultimately came into the possession of Mr. Brydges, through his wife, as aforesaid. It was here that he finally determined to erect an edifice, the fame of which the Muse of that note of interrogation "Pope" has handed down to posterity. Canons, however, was not the first site selected by Mr. Brydges. Owing to a disagreement with the owner of Sion House, some land a little to the north of Brentford was relinquished; though the pillars for the gates were still standing 100 years later.

There is much doubt as to the exact date when the foundations of Canons were commenced. Some authorities date *circa* 1712; others 1715. After mature deliberation, my opinion is that the latter is most likely correct, for many reasons. One of the most important of these is that in 1712 Mr. Brydges still held his appointment as Paymaster-General; and however lucrative that office may have been made by him, it would have been little short of madness to have commenced the erection of a noble and costly palace while he held a position that had already been the subject of question in the House of Commons. Besides, such an undertaking immediately following the dismissal of the Duke of Marlborough must have drawn attention to the emoluments of Mr. Brydges' post. Another good reason in favour of the later date is that by this period he had succeeded his father as Lord Chandos. He could, therefore, with better grace, commence a lordly residence, as a peer of the realm, even if previously enriched by fruits of office. Besides, the Committee for inspecting the state of the public accounts had then ceased its labours.

That there were other difficulties in connection with Mr. Sweet's office as Deputy Paymaster, is

made evident by a communication ¹ from his senior (Mr. Brydges), to the Lord Treasurer, enclosing Mr. Sweet's reasons for not protesting Sir John Lambert's bills of exchange for 312,000 florins, current money of Holland, and requesting his Lordship's direction thereon.

On the 10th of June, 1712, a report ² was made by Messrs. Levinge and Bernard, respectively Attorney and Solicitor Generals for Ireland, to the Lords Justices, relating to a pension of 500*l.* per annum, granted to the Earl of Granard. This, it was contended, had been sold to Anthony Hammond, Esq.—Mr. Brydges' deputy at the pay office—for 1600*l.*, and afterwards resold by him to Mr. Brydges. The earl's contention was, that he had only mortgaged it to Mr. Hammond, and not sold or assigned it absolutely. On certain conditions, he prayed that the stop placed on the payment of the pension might be removed, and this petition was granted. It is not assumed that the transaction was a matter of arrangement between Mr. Brydges and his deputy, though it does appear strange, that almost so soon as Mr. Hammond had acquired what appears to be a bargain, it should be transferred to Mr. Brydges,

¹ Redingtons' Calendar of Treasury Papers.

² Ibid.

his senior. Possibly other instances, that will be recorded of the latter's dealing with offices and grants, may help to enlighten the reader's mind on this subject.

Owing to the investigations made by the committee appointed to inquire into the Duke of Marlborough's affairs, and other matters connected with the Army, and the consequent disclosures, the following command was sent Mr. Brydges by H. St. John, then Secretary for War:—

¹“To the Honourable JAMES BRYDGES,
“Paymaster-General of the Forces,
“Whitehall.

“June 21st, 1712.

“SIR,—Her Majesty has thought fit to order that payment should be stopped of all pay or subsidies to the foreign troops on her Service, till further notice, which you will be pleased to signify without loss of time to Mr. Sweet, and at the same time, to direct him to issue no pay to any foreigners serving in the Low Countries, till he shall receive directions so to do from his Grace the Duke of Ormonde, and from the Earl of

¹ Parkes' Life of Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke.

Strafford, who is going away to-morrow to the Army in Flanders. The orders must be positive, and her Majesty expects they should be punctually complied with. My Lord Treasurer desires me to acquaint you, that the messenger who goes to Holland, stays at my office for your letter, which he is to carry with him. You will please therefore, as soon as this comes to your hand, to write accordingly to Mr. Sweet, deputy paymaster to the Army in Flanders, and to send your letter to my office, that the messenger may be despatched with it.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your most humble servant,

“ H. ST. JOHN.”

It would be difficult to find a letter which better exemplifies the maxim *Suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*, or which more plainly manifests the iron hand under the silk glove. Not only is the command courteously though imperatively worded for immediate compliance, but keeping the messenger at Mr. St. John's office for Mr. Brydges' letter, was a master stroke of policy, to command obedience and prevent delay.

CHAPTER V.

Report of Commissioners concerning the public accounts—Mr. Brydges' character at this period—Smollett's estimate of the sum deficient in Mr. Brydges' accounts shown to be erroneous.

THE Commissioners for examining the state of the public accounts were still holding their inquiries, though unable to reach the accounts more directly concerning Mr. Brydges in the current year.

Although Mr. Brydges had decided ultimately to make the family domain of the Lake the place whereon to rear his costly mansion, it was fated that the descendant of that family—Mrs. Brydges—should not live to see her husband's mansion erected on the estate of her ancestors. She died in the December of 1712.

It is frequently stated that Mr. Brydges vacated the office of Paymaster-General to the Forces abroad during the year just named. That this date was anticipatory, will be presently shown.

On April, 16th, 1713, the Commissioners again

reported to the House the result of their investigations. These were briefly:—That they were forced to omit many particulars for want of examining the deputy paymasters, Mr. Sweet and Mr. Morice, on oath, through whose hands most of the public money had passed. Mr. Sweet, the deputy, could not give a satisfactory explanation of some mismanagement at Amsterdam. Therefore a *precept* was sent for his attendance here (though in the meantime he was dismissed from his office), when he requested an indulgence of six months before returning to England. The reasons not being deemed adequate, request was again made for his immediate attendance with such books and papers as would enable him to give an exact account of all the monies received and paid during the war in the Low Countries. Thereupon he repeated his previous answer, and it was feared that no personal information could be obtained from him, without the interposition of Parliament.

Mr. Morice, the deputy in Portugal, having recently died, the Commissioners' intention of looking into his accounts was frustrated. But the Paymaster-General, Mr. Brydges, had sent a person to Lisbon to prepare them. Mr. Mead, the deputy in Spain, having only just arrived in

this country, they had as yet been unable to go through his accounts.

One point in the great mismanagement of the army was that of paying regiments without establishments. The paymaster-general declared on oath before the Commissioners :—" That the regiments of Hogon, D'Assa, and Dalzel, were paid by authority of the general's warrant alone." The Commissioners also found : " That some regiments had been paid which were never on any establishments, while others had been paid before they were established.

" The Earl of Galway's Spanish regiment. . . we have received so very an uncertain account of, that there seems to have been unnecessary expense made on the public for providing it. Captain Henry Pullein deposes that he held a captain's commission dated April 6th, 1709, given him by the Earl of Galway ; that he arrived in Portugal the June following, when he heard the regiment had been taken prisoners, and found two or three officers there, but never saw any privates, nor did he hear that any musters were ever taken. The commissary, and the paymaster-general have deposed :—That they never saw any muster rolls, but that there was a list of prisoners returned to the paymaster, after the regiment

was supposed to have been taken by the enemy, wherein the name of only one private is inserted, which has created the suspicion, that the regiment was an imaginary one and never actually raised.

“Some regiments have been placed on several establishments at the same time, Farrington’s, for instance, on three, viz., Flanders, Spain, and Portugal; Mordaunt’s and Macartney’s, in the same manner; Hill’s and Hotham’s were put in both estimates (for Spain and Portugal), and twice provided for by parliament. The sum of 90,954*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* was given in excess for these five regiments than was applied to their use. But Mr. Brydges alleges that part of the sum allotted to the regiments of Mordaunt, Farrington and Macartney, was issued for the pay of SOME Foreign Corps.

“Other regiments have been paid different from their respective establishments: Elliott’s was placed on the Flanders establishment at 44*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* *per diem*, but was paid by Mr. Brydges at the rate of 39*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.*, those of Lalo, Farrington, and Macartney at 42*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*, paid by Mr. Brydges at 39*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.*, that of Mordaunt’s at 42*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* was paid at the rate of 39*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.*; Blisset’s at 36*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.* paid at the rate of 32*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.* From

this it is plain that a considerable sum was voted by parliament, more than was applied to the service, or is yet otherwise accounted for.

“As the above mentioned regiments have received less than their establishment, so that of Carles has received 1819*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* more, being placed on the establishment at 28*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* *per diem*, and paid at the rate 42*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*

“The above are so far as Mr. Brydges’ office was directly concerned, though there were other. . . allegations affecting the forces at home, and the Navy.” The Commissioners report that they had noticed the sale of public offices and called the attention of the House thereto, and cited two instances; the first directly refers to Mr. Brydges.

“Henry Meriton Esq., in 1705, treated with Mr. Brydges, then Auditor of the Imprests, for the purchase of his office, agreeing to give 4000*l.* for it, and thereon applied to the Lord Treasurer Godolphin for his approbation. His lordship proposed to make him Commissioner of Customs, or Cashier of the Excise, in consideration of the 4000*l.* he was to pay Mr. Brydges. But he absolutely refused the first proposal, and was with great difficulty brought to accept the latter office considering the terms too hard, as

the office was given during pleasure only. However, being persuaded by Sir William Scawen, to rely on the Lord Godolphin's honour, he paid Mr. Brydges the 4000*l.*, whereon Mr. Maynwaring was made Auditor of the Imprests. Mr. Hall, Cashier of the Excise, was removed from that office to be a Commissioner of the Customs; and Mr. Meriton entered into the Excise as cashier. By this it is evident that Lord Godolphin was not only privy to this bargain and sale, but negotiated it. However, the Commissioners examined Mr. Maynwaring on oath, who deposed that his Lordship transacted the whole matter without his knowledge. But he heard that a sum of money was given to Mr. Brydges on resigning his office. As a further confirmation of this, when Mr. Meriton was dismissed in 1710 from being Cashier of the Excise, he remonstrated with Lord Godolphin, saying that 'he could not sit down with the loss of 4000*l.*;' and insisted on his lordship's promise of continuing the post to him. His lordship apprehending himself under an obligation to reimburse Mr. Meriton, as he was pleased to say for his own sake, means were found, on making Colonel Sidney Comptroller of the Excise, to raise 4000*l.* for Mr. Meriton by a cross sale of those offices."

This concluded the substance of the first report. But on the same day a second one was handed in, of which the following is a *resumé*:—

“The Commissioners humbly submit by what is offered in the preceding report, that they will be deemed to have taken some pains in examining the accounts of the army, and for having used all possible endeavours to detect any irregularities or mismanagements therein. Mr. Howe,¹ in return to our *precept*, brought in accounts of some regiments, but, in examination thereof, we found that they had reference to other accounts—while those regiments were in Mr. Brydges’ pay—which are unadjusted.

“Mr. Brydges also exhibited to us, some time since, the state of several regiments, but alleged that there were so many difficulties in their accounts, that he could not settle the credits of any one of them. The colonels and agents have returned that, till the credits of their respective regiments are fixed by the PAYMASTER, they cannot pretend to offer any accounts. As these have been numerous, it is hoped they will facilitate our examinations when the paymasters are prepared to lay their accounts before us in such a manner as will form a proper foundation for

¹ John Howe, Paymaster of the Forces at home.

us to determine on. Mr. Brydges has been frequently pressed to attest the credits of the regiments under his care, as they form the most considerable part of the army; but, being unable to remove the difficulties first complained of, he has lately delivered on oath to us a paper entitled, ‘Reasons why the accounts for the regiments under the care of the Honourable James Brydges, Esquire, Paymaster-General of her Majesty’s Forces, acting in conjunction with the Allies, could not be closed and attested, pursuant to the *precepts* of the Honourable Commissioners appointed by parliament for taking, examining, and determining the debts due to the army, etc. Dated, March 4th, 1712-13.

“Now whether these reasons are admitted as a justification of the paymaster or otherwise, your Commissioners apprehend they are a sufficient proof, that it was not in their power to proceed further than they have done.

“(Signed)

“GEORGE LOCKHART, HENRY BERTIE, SOLWAY
WINNINGTON, FRANCIS ANNESLEY, THOMAS
LISTER, WILLIAM SHIPPEN, HENRY CARTER.”

The House having heard Mr. Shippen read these Reports from his seat in the Commons, it

was resolved to take them into consideration on the Saturday following. At the same time they ordered a Bill to be brought in, "To revive and continue the Act for taking, examining and stating the public accounts, and to continue the Act for appointing Commissioners to examine debts due to the army."

However painstaking the Commissioners may have been, the results of their labours amount almost to *nil*. True, they were baffled and foiled at almost every step, as if some master mind was directing the mystification. An important contribution towards the elucidation of these accounts, would have been the discovery as to who was really responsible for, or initiated the dismissal of Mr. Sweet, the deputy at Amsterdam, without first bringing his accounts to this country, as immediately he received his discharge (by letter), he perfectly well knew what to expect on returning here. In other words, he should have been temporized with. His absence—as they this side knew—would prevent any direct allegations being made by the committee, against those in the pay office at Whitehall. The death of Mr. Morice, Mr. Brydges' deputy in Portugal, naturally prevented the Commissioners receiving that gentleman's personal testimony, relative to the

accounts under his charge. The same reason will apply to the alleged sale of "offices," the late Lord Treasurer Godolphin dying whilst the Commission was sitting.

The above, coupled with the form of the second report, prevented any specific charge being made against Mr. Brydges. At the most, the allegations made were general ones, so much so, that they could not fix any one with any of the many irregularities stated to exist in the office of Mr. Brydges, though the Commissioners were morally certain that the country had been, and was being, defrauded to an enormous extent.

That Mr. Brydges was a clever and fortunate man, is proved by the turn events were made to take. He showed great circumspection, by not (at this time) making a parade of his wealth, by adopting that style of magnificence which he did later. His good fortune permitted him to escape directly or indirectly, the censure of the Commons (as in the case of Sir Robert Harley and others). In fact his position in the House does not appear to have been affected in the least by the Commissioners' reports, as he was returned at the head of the poll for Hereford, his old seat, in the new Parliament. Mr. Brydges possessed in

a marked degree the faculty of making himself agreeable to all with whom he was brought into contact. In fact, he studied, and acted up to the motto, "*Noblesse Oblige*," and showed frequently magnanimous conduct in support of that maxim. Such a disposition naturally stood him in good stead at the present juncture, particularly with a grave though legally unproved charge hanging over him. But even this did not prevent him, at a later period, from being named as a probable commissioner to aid in carrying on a still higher trust.

Mr. Smollett in his continuation of Hume's History of England, asserts in reference to the accounts of the army appertaining to Mr. Brydges' office, "That all means had proved ineffectual to determine and punish those individuals who shamefully pillaged their country. The villainy was so complicated, the vice so general, and the delinquents so powerfully screened by artifice and interest, as to elude all inquiry." This has been shown in these pages, even more conclusively than the historian asserts. Smollett further states, that Mr. Brydges accounted for all the monies that passed through his hands except three millions; an assertion which no doubt has reference to the figures previously given.

For this sum Mr. Brydges had to produce accounts or vouchers. As several audits followed, it is safe to assume that this sum was wholly or in part accounted for. It is not denied that Mr. Brydges acquired a handsome fortune during his tenure of office as Paymaster-General, though what this amounted to no one ever knew. Three millions, however, is far too large a sum to estimate it at, great even as Mr. Brydges' expenditure was, after his official retirement from the Pay Office. In building and other acquisitions, however, he both made and lost large amounts by various schemes, though all of these would hardly reach the seven-figured sum stated. It must also be remembered that he was then in possession of the family estates; these alone would have enabled him to keep up a fair establishment.

CHAPTER VI.

Mr. Brydges still in office—Letter from Mr. Brydges to the Treasurer — Mr. Brydges' second marriage — Reason why the office of Paymaster-General was so lucrative at this period—Mr. Brydges presents a statement of accounts to the House of Commons—Resigns office—Purchases lease of Enfield Chace—Presents living of Stanmore Parva or Whitchurch, to Rev. T. Desaguliers—Determines to rebuild the church for him—Mention made of Mr. Brydges becoming a Treasury Commissioner—Death of Lord Chandos—Succeeded by his son James Brydges —Created Viscount Wilton and Earl of Carnarvon by George I.—The Earl's political convictions—Petitions by persons relating to matters connected with the Earl's late office—Interests himself in the election of Members of Parliament for Hereford.

NOTWITHSTANDING the report of the Commissioners, Mr. Brydges still retained his appointment. This is proved by his presenting to the House of Commons, May 2nd, 1713, an estimate of what was due for the clearings and set-off reckonings of her Majesty's troops, upon the establishments of Spain, Portugal, and the Low Countries, from the time they were last paid till March 25th, 1713. The title being read, it was ordered, "That the said estimate do lie upon

the table of the House to be perused by the members."

It appears that one of the results of the Inquiry into the state of the public accounts, was the making many of the offices alluded to by the Commissioners, a little more circumspect in conducting their affairs; this appears from the following letter:—

¹ "Whitehall, 18th July, 1713.

"GENTLEMEN,—I enclose to you a copy of my Lord Duke of Ormonde's letter to me, by which you will see his Grace is of opinion the troops ought to be paid according to the muster rolls. I desire you will please lay the same before my Lord Treasurer for his Lordship's directions, whether the same must be paid according to the muster or effective lists. The Act of Parliament being so express in directing the former, and being renewed the last sessions, I humbly submit whether the paying by any other authority will not be an infringement of that Act.

"I am, gentlemen,

"Your most humble servant,

"J. BRYDGES.

"Secretary to the Treasury."

¹ From MSS. relating to the Army, 1698—1715.

This letter testifies that Mr. Brydges was moving cautiously; he was about to resign office, and was naturally desirous of quitting his post with as good a grace as possible.

Notwithstanding the worry and anxiety of this year—1713—Mr. Brydges found leisure to woo and win a second wife. This lady was Cassandra, daughter of Sir F. Willoughby, and sister of the then newly created Lord Middleton; she was also a first cousin of Mr. Brydges, and related to Earl Tylney, the erector of the once splendid pile of Wanstead. Mr. Brydges espoused his second wife on the 4th of August, 1713. The ceremony took place in the chapel attached to the Royal Military Hospital, Chelsea, probably selected on account of Mr. Brydges' connection with the civil establishment of the army.

One of the many reasons why the post of Paymaster to the Forces was so lucrative in those times, consisted in the very large sums of money that frequently lay for some time in the Paymaster's hands, before the period arrived for its disbursement. This is alluded to as a fact in connection with that office, and not as reflecting on anyone who held the appointment. It was looked upon as one of the emoluments of

the post, that the money should be lucratively used for the time, to the paymaster's advantage.

Amongst the several papers¹ consulted for this work, is a document elaborately drawn up to show what would be necessary for carrying on the service to Christmas, and paying the bills of exchange in Mr. Brydges' office, 1712-13. The sum for meeting these expenses amounts to 869,134*l*. There is in Mr. Brydges' hands (or intended to be issued to him) the following:—

1710.

General mortgage, subscribed to :					£
South Sea Company	.	.	.	.	409,600
Land Tax	.	.	.	.	73,895
Malt „	.	.	.	.	7,558
Candle Tax	.	.	.	.	7,500
					<u>498,553</u>

1711.

Land Tax	.	.	.	.	.	24,500
Malt „	.	.	.	.	.	80,975
Hops „	.	.	.	.	.	30,346
South Sea Stock	.	.	.	.	.	151,300
In money to be received from the						
Two Millions voted	.	.	.	.	.	132,162
						<u>£917,836</u>

showing an estimated surplus of 48,702*l*., which is subsequently swallowed up by other items to

¹ MSS. relating to the Army, 1698—1715.

be provided for, ultimately resulting in a debit of 63,433*l*. These accounts are curious, as showing the ways and means then employed for providing the army. Nor will it escape observation that a large proportion of the money in hand was invested in South Sea stock, though this period is previous to that of the inflated condition.

A Mr. Thomas Moore is recorded as succeeding Mr. Brydges in the office of Paymaster-General during the year 1713, although the latter's connection with that post does not appear to have entirely ceased. On April 7th, 1714,¹ Mr. Brydges presented to the House of Commons by her Majesty's commands (pursuant to their address for that purpose), an account of several charges for H.M. forces, which are not provided for in Mr. Brydges' office between the 22nd of December, 1712, and the 24th of August, 1713. These accounts consist of thirteen items, relating to pay of regiments, etc., and expenses of the Commander-in-Chief in Portugal, and amount to 71,473*l*. 12*s*. 11¼*d*. This appears to have been the last official statement presented by him to the House of Commons, though for some years inquiries and references were made to

¹ House of Commons Journal, vol. xvii.

him by officials in the Treasury and other departments.

Mr. Brydges, being now relieved from the cares of office, began to put into execution those plans that he had determined upon, so soon as time and other circumstances allowed. He also resolved to add to his landed possessions in the neighbourhood of Canons as opportunity arose, so as to make his power as great as possible in the vicinity of his contemplated princely residence. One of the first steps he took was to purchase, during the year 1714, the assignment of the unexpired term of the Ranger-ship of Enfield Chace, Middlesex, then a lordly domain, some twenty-one miles in circumference. Enfield Chace had been granted in 1694 for a term of fifty-six years to Sir Robert Howard, who afterwards assigned it. This assignee, in his turn, sold it to Mr. Brydges, in whose family it remained for several generations.

As a means towards the spiritual welfare of himself and neighbours, he presented the living of Whitchurch—close to Canons—to the learned John Theophilus Desaguliers, LL.D., F.R.S., son of the Rev. John Desaguliers, a French refugee, educated at Christ Church, Oxford. This gentleman was held in high favour by Sir

Isaac Newton, and was the first person who gave public lectures in London upon Experimental Philosophy. The lectures, together with other works of a scientific nature, were afterwards published by him.

Having presented the living of Whitchurch to an esteemed friend and brother F.R.S., whom he also made his chaplain, Mr. Brydges did what a magnanimous patron would do under such circumstances; he presented the new incumbent (and parishioners) with a new church. He proposed to make the church's decorations similar to the intended private chapel at Canons, and worthy of proximity to his purposed princely edifice. The date of the commencement of the latter building is here confirmed, for it is a fact that the church of St. Lawrence was pulled down—except the tower—in 1715, although its re-erection progressed slowly owing to the same artists and workmen being simultaneously engaged at Canons.

During the last days of her Majesty Queen Anne, the Earl of Oxford, who was Lord Treasurer, was removed from office. The event was so sudden that much strife and confusion ensued, particularly as no substitute had been agreed upon. Hasty consultation was therefore held; when it

was proposed that the office of treasurer should be executed by a¹ commission of five. Sir William Wyndham, of the Exchequer, was to be one, but the choice of the others was somewhat puzzling to her Majesty, as well as her councillors. It is said that the persons mentioned were the Lords Bolingbroke, Paget, Lexington, Bathurst, and Masham, the Bishop of London, the Honourables Henry Boyle, and James Brydges, together with many others; but no definite selection was then made. It would seem that Mr. Brydges was still regarded with confidence amongst the powers that were, his name being mentioned as a possible commissioner for so important an office as the Treasury.

On the 16th of October, 1714, James, Lord Chandos, died at his seat of Aconbury, near Hereford, and was succeeded by his son James. The late lord had been one of the seven barons, or viscounts, selected for promotion to the degree of earl, upon the accession of his Majesty King George I. The names of these noblemen were Chandos, Ossulton, Guernsey, Halifax, Rockingham, Harvey and Pelham; but Lord Chandos died before the official announcement of his Majesty's favour was made, and his

¹ Afterwards put into effect.

son and successor received the honour intended for the father. On the 19th of October, 1714, it was announced that the Right Honourable James Brydges, Lord Chandos, was to be created Viscount Wilton, of Wilton, Herefordshire, and Earl of Carnarvon; the letters patent to be entailed on his brother the Honourable and Rev. Henry Brydges, in default of surviving male issue. The foregoing explanation clears up much doubt that has arisen; as many have wished to know why Mr. Brydges, a person supposed to have greatly enriched himself at the public cost, was one of the first to receive favour from the hands of the new sovereign. The newly-created Earl lost no time in attaching himself to the court, as well as to the interests of his Majesty King George I. In fact he thoroughly foreshadowed—except in meanness—Macklin's character of Sir Pertinax McSycophant in *The Man of the World*, who always "Boo'd boo'd where the sun shone."

Mention might here be made of the Earl's political convictions, which were, as they had been during his parliamentary career, those of the Whig party. Though nevertheless a fact, this assertion may probably raise a doubt in the reader's mind. Nor is it such a difficult matter to

prove, as the Whigs from the accession of Anne to the beginning of the reign of George III. were such in name only, having, during the intervening reigns, acted and voted as Tories.

Mr. Brydges, now Earl of Carnarvon, though relegated to the House of Peers, was frequently referred to in matters relating to his late office. Thus on the 27th October,¹ 1714,¹ a petition was presented by Mr. Hill and another, respecting charges for provisions. This is minuted to be considered when another Privy Seal passes for my Lord Carnarvon. On the 27th of the following month Mr. Morice, executor to his father, the late deputy paymaster to the forces in Portugal, presented a petition in reference to certain charges for shipping money from Lisbon to Catalonia, minuted to be read when my Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Auditor Harley are at the Treasury. These were not the last queries that arose concerning the Earl's late appointment as Paymaster.

After succeeding to the family honours, Lord Carnarvon desired that his late seat for Hereford in the Commons should be filled by a person of his own political views, especially as that constituency had honoured him with their suffrages on behalf of

¹ Redington's Calendar of Treasury Papers.

the Whig party during eight Parliaments. With this purpose he strenuously supported the candidature of Messrs. Westfaling and Philpotts for that party. They and their supporters were surprised to find themselves opposed by Viscount Scudamore, who, instead of seeking re-election for the County, had, at the earnest solicitation of the electors, determined to contest the City of Hereford, in conjunction with Thomas Foley, one of its late members, in the Tory interest. In this they were successful, the poll being for,¹—

Thomas Foley	787
Viscount Scudamore	777
Westfaling	575
Philpotts	551

Such a result was not anticipated by the Earl, who throughout the election felt confident that one of his candidates would obtain the suffrages of those electors whose political sentiments corresponded with his own, and who, for so long a time, had shown their allegiance to him.

¹ This circumstance, added to others of a political character, so piqued his Lordship, as to influence him shortly after in disposing of all his Herefordshire property, part of which was purchased by the trustees of Guy's Hospital, London.

CHAPTER VII.

Situation of Canons—Some account of the building—Description of the grounds and chapel—Reports and petitions relating to the Earl's late office.

CANONS, or Cannons, the estate of the Lake family, which had come into the Earl's possession by right of his first wife, is situated about a mile to the north of the little village of Edgware, Edgar, or Edgworth—it is called and mentioned by all three names—a place of undoubted antiquity, on the great Roman road known as Watling Street, and having many Roman remains in its vicinity.

The selection of this site for the Earl's mansion was deemed by many scarcely suitable for the magnificent structure proposed. To remedy, in a measure, its natural deficiencies, the Earl spent a large sum in changing the contour of the ground, accomplishing by art what nature had failed to create—an eligible site. Plans and estimates for the building were submitted by the best architects of those days; but whose were ultimately adopted it is impos-

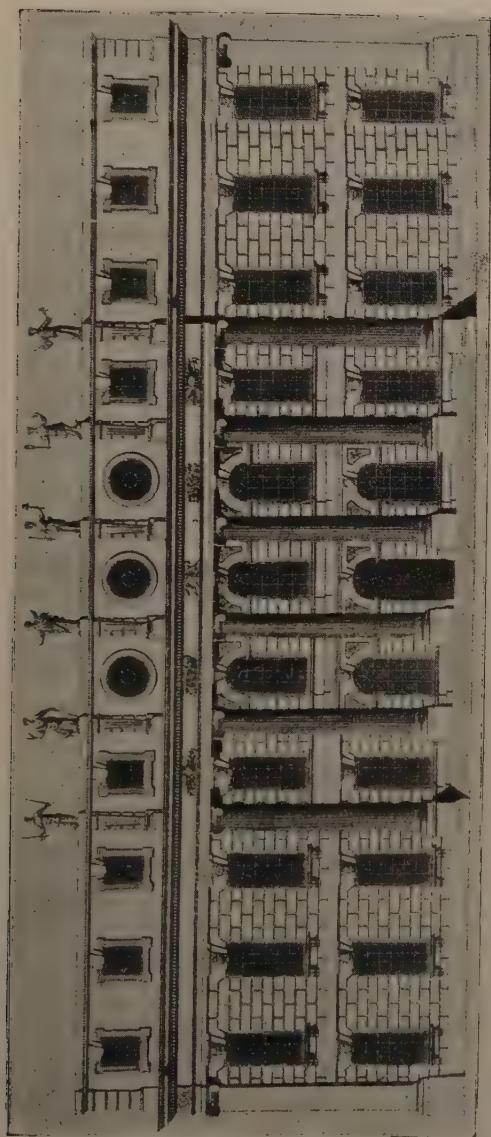
sible to state; as during the erection of the house, three well-known architects were employed, it is believed, in the following order, viz. : Gibbs, James of Greenwich, and Sheppard. The *Palladian* design was followed by all. Though it may seem strange, it is, nevertheless, a fact that no known plan, painting, drawing, or engraving, of the edifice *in toto* exists. There are elevations of the north and south fronts by Hulsberg, dated respectively 1721 and 1730, but these are only portions of the elevations purposed to be engraved; this is confirmed by the latter date, as the building was finished some years before 1730. Strong, the mason who undertook most of the stonework for St. Paul's Cathedral and Blenheim, built the north front, which its princely owner purposed should be handed down, together with the whole building, to posterity as a monument of his magnificence. To this end, the foundations, 12 feet thick, were reduced to 9 feet thick when above the ground level. The same substantial character applied to everything connected with the edifice. But, alas! its grandeur scarcely survived its founder. The exterior consisted of four sides, having frontages to the north, south, east, and west, all of freestone, and about 120 feet in length,

adorned with pilasters and columns of stone. Surmounting each window was an antique head, boldly sculptured; and along the top of each front were life-size statues. The engravings, just alluded to, depict but two sides; they have led to conjecture as to whether the mansion really possessed four sides of stone; or whether these two made an imposing aspect from the principal avenues, while the other two were occupied simply by brick outbuildings. From the absence of any drawing showing the four fronts in detail, the latter assumption might have some basis of truth. But the author, after much research and piecing together various scraps of information, is able to give an almost complete description of the whole, though he admits that at one time he almost despaired of so doing. The account that follows will do much to elucidate many hitherto vexed points, particularly one respecting the Earl's private chapel. It has been stated that the private chapel was no other than the present church of St. Lawrence, Whitechurch, or Stanmore Parva, a gem little known to Londoners, although within easy access. Our transatlantic cousins, however, with their usual keenness, have ferreted it out long since, and it is much visited by them during the

holiday season. The belief that this church was the Earl's private chapel will be shown to be erroneous; while it is correct that the Earl had the decorations of the church modelled after the chapel at Canons, notably as regards the paintings and the position of the organ.

The chief front of the residence at Canons faced the east, and its avenue led directly to the Church of St. Lawrence, Whitechurch, situate at about half a mile's distance. The north front faced the *parterre* and great canal, the west the gardens, and the south looked over the space occupied by the offices and stables, from which ran another avenue. The principal entrance was from the high road, about half a mile out of Edgware, through a fine iron gate, with the supporters of its noble owner on the pillar caps. Inside the grounds were two neat lodges,¹ modified later and inhabited by gentlemen, on the estate being sold. The avenue to the mansion was nearly a mile long and sufficiently wide to allow three coaches to drive abreast. Half-way between the lodges and the house was a large basin of water, similar to those in Kensington Gardens and Bushey Park. The approach was so contrived as to face the angle of two sides of the

¹ Still to be seen.



ELEVATION OF THE SOUTH FRONT, CANONS.

building, causing it to appear as one front from the entrance gates. This illusion was heightened by a turn given to the avenue before reaching the mansion, this making, as it were, another front appear, so that a person approaching after following the contour of the avenue, saw two fronts open to his view, whereas at first he had seen but one. The visitor now found himself at the east entrance, in front of a large court which led to the salon and grand staircase. To the left was another court, leading to the back stairs, the latter as important as many so-called grand staircases. The salon was supported by marble columns, and decorated by Bellouchi, who also decorated the ceiling of the grand staircase. The latter was of marble, with steps in single blocks, some twenty-two feet wide, and led to what were termed the royal apartments, fronting the parterre. The royal apartments consisted of a suite of six noble rooms finely proportioned; the plastering and gilding by Pergotti. The ceilings were painted by Paulocci, and the doors¹ were fitted with gold or silver furniture. All the rooms were upholstered in the most sumptuous manner. From these apartments, the earl's

¹ Probably silver gilt.

dressing room and library were approached, the latter facing the gardens. Here, another fine staircase, painted by Laguerre, and balustraded with wrought iron of a handsome design, descended into a court (that opened into the great area to the east), where the private chapel was situated on the right hand side and the kitchens on the left. The lower portion of the court was occupied by commodious and well designed stables.

The library was spacious, and was curiously adorned with books and statues, and a finely executed wood carving by Grinling Gibbons, representing "The stoning of Stephen." The chapel was prettily and neatly designed (here again Pergotti showed his skill in plaster and gilding) and contained a handsome altar. In an alcove above (the altar) was placed the organ by the celebrated Jordans; facing this, just over the entrance gates to the chapel (from the court alluded to), was a spacious gallery for the Earl and his family, communicating by a door with the apartments above. A staircase descended from the gallery to the body of the chapel, in order to allow members of the family to approach the altar for the purposes of the sacrament, or other rites. The windows were

handsomely painted, the designs were taken from the New Testament.

In the court that led to the east area was the dining room, a spacious chamber containing a handsome buffet, which displayed a service of plate such as few sovereign princes could boast. At the end of the room was a small chamber, where the musicians performed both vocal and instrumental music during the repasts of the family and guests.

The parterre, which faced the west, was separated from the grand avenue and great court, (that led to the principal staircase) by a handsome iron balustrade. A similar railing was also used to separate the mansion from the gardens on the other side. The parterre was approached by a long terrace walk which descended to it. On the parterre was a row of gilded vases on pedestals, down each side, so far as the great canal, where it terminated. In the centre was a profusely gilt statue of a gladiator, and the parterre was further decorated by life-size statues. The canal alluded to ran some distance through the grounds, and is said to have been supplied with water from springs at Stanmore, whence it was brought by conduits.

The gardens were handsome and well stocked,

and are stated to have been designed by the well-known, but unfortunate, Alexander Blackwell. Their beauty was also increased by their being arranged in such a manner as to allow one to view the whole of them at once. This was accomplished by using iron balustrading to form the various divisions instead of walls or hedges. In the kitchen garden were some curious glass bee-hives.

Neat dwellings for the Earl's body-guard were at the end of the principal avenues. The body-guard consisted of eight men, drafted from old army sergeants in Chelsea Hospital, some of whom mounted guard over the mansion and grounds during the night, calling the hours and state of the weather, as the London watchmen used to do. On Sunday they preceded their noble patron to church, as halberdiers. Among the statues in the grounds were two, well known to scarce old Londoners of our day. For scores of years one of these graced, or disgraced, Leicester Square, that once howling wilderness before its improvement by Baron Grant; viz., the statue¹ of King George I., Chandos's royal and beneficent

¹ Wrongly stated in a recent publication on 'Leicester Square,' by John Holingshead, as having come from Canons, the seat of the Earl of Burlington! Also some query is advanced as to the date of its erection. The exact period will be found later.



LEICESTER SQUARE, SHOWING STATUE OF GEORGE I.

master. When in the park of Canons, it was handsomely gilt and awarded a prominent position. The other is still to be seen in Golden Square, Regent Street, and is that of his Majesty King George II. For the Earl was privileged to live through four reigns, viz., William and Mary, Anne, George I., and George II., receiving favours at the hands of the last three sovereigns, more perhaps from those of the Georges, as testified by his raising their statues in his grounds.¹

The foregoing description of the palace of Canons is the most complete that has appeared in print for nearly 170 years, although not all that will be brought before the reader on this interesting subject; the remainder is reserved until it shall appear in proper chronological sequence.

Though the Earl of Carnarvon had vacated his appointment at the Pay Office, he was often called upon to explain various unsettled matters or cross references. A letter¹ sent on April 4th, 1715, to the Treasury shows the state of the subsidies, and pay of the foreign troops,

¹ Readers of this volume might perchance like to acquaint themselves with the exact position and surroundings of Canons; a splendid photo relief map of North London, by the Rev. E. McClure, M.A., and H. F. Brion (S.P.C.K., London, price 6d.), will meet all requirements.

during the late war. In the preceding January, a report¹ from Messrs. Foley and Harley, Auditors of the Imprests, was presented on the memorial of the Earl of Carnarvon, respecting his payments to several regiments, on account of their subsistence, clothing, pay, etc. The report is minuted, 'prepare a privy seal.' Accordingly, on the 4th of the following July, Mr. Harley furnished a further report¹ on the state of the Earl of Carnarvon's accounts, relating to the Army in Flanders during 1710, which also could not be passed (or allowed) without a privy seal. Again, on the 28th of the same month, another memorial was received from the Earl, respecting a sum of 799*l.* 12*s.* paid by a Mr. Whittingham for recruits during 1708. The opinion expressed was, that this amount should be allowed on the paymaster's account of that year's land tax, then devoted to army purposes.

On the 2nd of November¹ a minute was made (on a document undated), termed the representation of Sir Bibye Lake, Bart., to the Lords of the Treasury, in which he states that he paid into the Exchequer 2257*l.* 4*s.* 10½*d.*, in part of 13,149*l.* 10*s.* 7½*d.* owing to the Crown, from Robert Peters, late Receiver-General of Taxes for

¹ Redington's Calendar of Treasury Papers.

Hertfordshire. This is endorsed: Send to Earl Carnarvon and Sir Roger Mostyn, to know what has become of the South Sea stock that was to answer these assignments; in case it appears to be assigned to the trustees, then so much of the stock to be sold as will discharge the assignments, and, on the money being paid into the Exchequer on Peters' account, a warrant may then be issued for assigning the securities as desired.

These documents reveal that there were many matters unsettled in connection with the Earl's late appointment of Paymaster-General to the Forces abroad; in fact, they were not concluded until considerably later.

CHAPTER VIII.

Further reports on the Earl's late accounts as Paymaster—Applications for Privy Seals—Petition of Robert King *re* Peters—Copy of a Privy Seal for allowing certain accounts of the Earl whilst Paymaster—Gildon's poem, termed "Canons, or the Vision," dedicated to the Earl—The Earl still in favour at Court—Elected Governor of the Turkey Company—Some particulars of the Company.

DURING the year 1716, the Earl of Carnarvon was fully occupied with the various matters in connection with his mansion at Canons, then in the early stages of erection.

Mr. Auditor Harley¹ presented to the Lords of the Treasury, on June 4th, 1716, a report on the accounts of the Right Hon. James, Earl of Carnarvon, late Paymaster-General of the Forces in Spain and Portugal, for the years 1710-11. Harley expresses an opinion in the report, that Privy Seals were necessary for allowing the following expenditures:—

	£	s.	d.
To the German and Italian Forces serving in Spain during 1710. . . .	205,320	16	2
To the same for 1711. . . .	238,096	6	0

¹ Redington's Calendar of Treasury Papers.

	£	s.	d.
To Prince Eugene of Savoy in 1710	4,047	1	3
To Count Gallosa in 1711	4,047	12	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
To the Portuguese troops in Catalonia, 1710	103,100	10	0
To the Palatine troops in Catalonia, 1709-11	41,000	15	0
Ditto on account of extras	2,009	17	8
To the regiment of Grisons	12,527	19	0
For subsisting a Spanish regiment of Foot, and two troops of Horse, serving in Alicante during 1708	15,277	6	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
To the regiment of Horse commanded by Major-General Hogan and Sir Daniel Carroll, respectively	16,267	12	1
For another commanded by the Marquis D'Orsa	19,386	5	6
To the Spanish regiment of Foot raised in Spain by the Earl of Galway	3,623	3	6
To Antonio Bellotiges and Joseph Louisa & Co. for supplying the Army in Spain with draughts, and mule carriage for Bread and Artillery trains, 1710.	109,321	13	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
To his Imperial Majesty on account of his subsidy as King of Spain for 1710	112,042	9	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
And for 1711	37,970	19	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
To the King of Portugal for maintaining 13,000 men for the year 1710	150,000	0	0
For the year 1711	110,000	0	0

And some smaller items not worth giving in detail. This document is minuted, 'warrants to be prepared.'¹

¹ There is some doubt as to whether the above accounts had not been brought up before Lord Wharton (when Privy Seal, 1714-15), who absolutely refused to seal them, whereupon they were adjourned. Upon his death, in 1715, they were again

Apropos to the matter mentioned in the last chapter *re* Peters, the following allusion is made in the Treasury papers¹ for this year, 1716, and appears under the form of a petition from Robert King (one of the sureties for Peters) to the House of Commons. The petition recites that he had laid his case, by several petitions, before the Lords of the Treasury, and thinks it very hard that he should be proceeded against by the Crown, having paid 2257*l.* 14*s.* 10½*d.* into the Exchequer. Likewise that the Crown had received 3007*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.*, deposited in the Earl of Carnarvon's hands to pay the debt, and could receive the balance from Sir Robert Mostyn's office when the Lords of the Treasury order it to be paid.

The foregoing appears to refer to some irregularities in connection with the office of Receiver of Taxes for the County of Hertford. The guarantors of that official were called upon to make good certain misapplications by Peters.

laid before the new Lord Privy Seal, who, with the consent of the Treasury, finally passed them. These accounts were for the pay, etc., of the troops in Spain and Portugal, where it was impossible to procure such vouchers as the then course of the Exchequer required. But whether the figures were the same as previously recorded, cannot be proved with any certainty, though, after considering the matter carefully, the presumption is that they were.

¹ Redington's Calendar of Treasury Papers.

The sum of 3000*l.*, said to be in the hands of the Earl of Carnarvon, may relate to the South Sea stock alluded to in a previous chapter, though it is not definitely stated.

Early in the year, 1717, application was again made for privy seals relative to the accounts of Earl of Carnarvon, when paymaster. To further these, a Sign Manual, dated April 12th, 1717, was issued, which ran as follows:—

“GEORGE R.¹

“Whereas we are given to understand, that although the accounts of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin, James Earl of Carnarvon, for the time he continued Paymaster of the Forces acting in conjunction with the Allies, have been lately passed; yet by reason or neglect,² the several sums of money paid by him, which are hereunder particularized, and which were for services of the late war, have not been allowed him thereupon.

“Our will and pleasure therefore is, and we do hereby direct, authorize, and command, that in future accounts which the said earl shall or may render to you, or either of you, whilst he was

¹ From an original document in the Musgrave Collection, of MSS. relating to the Naval and Military affairs of the kingdom.

² Should be ‘of neglect.’

paymaster of the said forces, to give allowance of the several sums following. Provided the payment of the said several sums do appear to you to be well and sufficiently vouched, and that no allowance of the said sums, or any part or parcel thereof, hath been before given to the said earl, upon any of his accounts already passed. That is to say—here follow 48 items amounting to 15,921*l.* 19*s.* 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* Taking care to make proper certificate hereupon to the Commissioners for stating the Debts of the Army. And for so doing, this shall be to you, or either of you, a sufficient warrant.

“Given at our Court of St. James. The twelfth day of April, 1717.

“To our trusty and well-beloved Edward Harley and Thomas Foley, Auditors of our Imprests, and to all others it may concern.”

The day preceding the issue of this Sign Manual, the auditors above named made a further report¹ to the Lords of the Treasury on the memorial of the Right Honourable James Earl of Carnarvon, upon the state, thereunto annexed, of several demands on the public, for pay, forage, mule money, and other services due to the general officers and others remaining unsatisfied.

¹ Redington's Calendar of Treasury Papers.

These claims accrued when Mr. Brydges was Paymaster-General of the Forces. The amount demanded was 6499*l.* 10*s.* 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*, part of which, 2537*l.* 18*s.* 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, was for extraordinaries to foreign troops who served in Flanders, and for which no proofs had been produced. The balance was for other services during the same campaign. The report is not endorsed with any result of the treasurers' deliberations ; apparently quite unnecessary, or possibly included in the items, by issue of the Sign Manual.

Gildon dedicated a poem, entitled "Canons, or the Vision," to the Right Hon. James Earl of Carnarvon about this time. Why the poem was given this appellation it is hard to tell, nor does the preface assist in the elucidation of the matter. The preface consists of some ten pages, but no reference is made to the subject of the poem ; nor is it possible to glean much information from the introduction in verse, beginning as follows :—

"While other arts, tho' of less rich a vein,
From your large soul a just regard obtain,
¹ Bright *Poans* son's presume you'll not refuse
The nobler tribute of the Heaven-born muse."

And so on through four pages, when the poem itself opens thus :

¹ The meaning of this line is not clear in the original.

“Tired with the nauseous follies of the age,
That busy fools and knaves so much engage,
The thoughtless town I leave for shady groves,
The ancient seat of true and harmless love.”

The author then indulges in mythological rhapsodies for a score of pages, seemingly forgetting the title of his work. In fact, the only allusion made to Canons occurs in the following lines, intimating that the gods and goddesses had selected the site for the mansion :—

“Of chosen ‘Canons,’ with its groves and bowers,
Its verdant lawns, its dales and gentle hills,
Its standing lakes, and all its murmuring rills,
Its sunny banks, and every shady glade,
By consecrating hymns is sacred made.”

This is enough to enable the reader to form an idea of the whole, without the infliction of a verbatim copy. The price of this effusion was certainly not prohibitive.¹ The poem contained almost the first allusion in verse to the noble Earl or to Canons : but such masters of verse as Pope and Young afterwards gave the Earl and his notable residence some attention. So closed the year 1717, not an eventful one for the Earl by any means, except that he managed to keep in good odour at Court.

¹ Published by J. Roberts, Warwick Lane, E.C. Price one shilling.

During February, 1718, the Earl of Carnarvon was unanimously elected Governor of the Turkey Company, in place of Sir Richard Onslow. The Earl's family connection had something to do with this appointment, as it has already been noticed that his father had been at one time the Company's Ambassador at the Porte; and the Earl's grandfather, on his mother's side, was a Turkey merchant of repute. The Turkey Company was originally established by Royal Charter, made perpetual by King James I., in 1605. It was not a joint stock company, like the East India, Greenland, and other really *bonâ-fide* monopolies, but merely a trading Company, under certain regulations for its management; nor were its members limited to place, or number, the membership being open to any subject of the realm free of the Company. The members on joining were supposed to contribute such proportionable sums as were necessary for the protection of the Company's trade. For many years, the Company was exempt from all monopolizing principles; any man paying a small fixed fee was admitted a member, and was then at liberty to trade to the Levant on his own account. The affairs of this corporation were managed by a governor and

court of directors, for whose election every member, who had paid forty shillings Customs' duty the previous year, was entitled to vote, as well as upon all material questions concerning the Company. Their Charter empowered them to raise taxes from members; a privilege they exercised with great care. Nor did they permit their ambassadors and consuls abroad to levy arbitrary imposts on their trading members; the Company taxed the latter themselves, for necessary expenses, in furthering or protecting their commerce. Power was also given by their letters patent, with the approval of the Board of Trade, for the making of bye-laws for their own guidance. In fact, for a number of years, so good was their foundation and government, that an old authority states, "It has always been generously spoken of in opposition to others; being founded upon the inestimable liberty of trade, it prospered accordingly, and was extremely valuable to the Nation." The membership, about this period, consisted of some 800 merchants and others, residing in various parts of the kingdom and the Levant; the calling of Turkey merchant was then one of the most respectable for opulence and repute in the commercial world. The company also possessed a fleet of twenty ships

armed with twenty-five or thirty guns each, trading to various ports in the Mediterranean. Besides appointing and paying an ambassador, secretary, physician, and consul to the ports, they had consuls, agents, dragomen, etc., at Smyrna, Aleppo, Alexandria, Algiers, Patmos, and other towns, at a cost of 15,000*l.* per annum. Two years before the Earl of Carnarvon's appointment as Governor, the Company had sent, as their ambassador to Constantinople, Edward Wortley Montague, Esq., husband of the celebrated Lady Mary Wortley Montague. The foregoing is a brief *résumé* of the constitution and character of the Corporation, in the management of which the Earl was elected to take an important part.

CHAPTER IX.

The Earl retains a staff of musicians at Canons—Dr. Pepusch first chapel-master there — Succeeded by Handel — Handel's compositions for the Earl—The Earl's private chapel, and Parish Church of Stanmore Parva—Anecdotes of Handel—Alleged harsh measures by the Turkey Company—The Earl purchases ground in Albemarle Street—Further honours showered on the Earl—Created Marquis of Carnarvon and Duke of Chandos.

THE Earl, anxious to accomplish his desire to live in regal style, decided that the service in his private chapel should be worthy of its surroundings. He therefore retained at Canons a staff of the best vocal and instrumental artists. These were first placed under the direction of the celebrated Dr. John Christopher Pepusch, who was appointed Choir-master by the Earl, shortly after the Chapel was ready to be used for divine service. The decorations and other embellishments were not completed till later. The learned doctor retained his post for a short time, during which he composed the Morning and Evening Services, likewise a very fine *Magnificat*, and several anthems. But, for all this, the Earl

was not content, desiring even greater things than the doctor could accomplish. At that time, George Frederic Handel was considered the greatest of composers, and had just been restored to court-favour by the influence of Handel's noble patron, the Earl of Burlington. Earl Carnarvon, therefore, determined that Handel should become the director of his music at Canons, and he was so appointed in 1718. Some chroniclers of Handel's career doubt whether he was employed by the Earl as a mere adjunct to the grandeur of Canons, or from motives of a superior kind. Sir John Hawkins, in his History of Music, considers it possible that the vocal and instrumental music, daily performed at Canons under Handel's direction, was superior in excellence to that enjoyed by any sovereign prince in Europe. This assertion is undoubtedly correct, judging from the still recognized merits of Handel's compositions. During Handel's sojourn at Canons (nearly two years), he composed for his noble patron several anthems, of which the best known are, *I will magnify thee ; Let God arise ! Have mercy on me ; O come, let us sing ; Sing unto the Lord ; My song shall be always ; As pants the hart ; The Lord is my light ; In the Lord put I my trust ; O praise the Lord with one*

Consent; O praise the Lord, ye angels; also other pieces, amongst them a fine Te Deum. The latter is noticed in a curious MS.¹ note-book, kept by Mr. Humfrey Wanley, librarian, etc., to the Earl of Oxford, under the date of May 15th, 1721. "Mr. Kaeyecht (at the Duke of Chandos') has kindly promised to lend me the score of Mr. Handel's *Te Deum*, being his second, which he composed for the Duke of Chandos, who can likewise procure the scores of all his services and anthems."

Handel composed his Oratorio of *Esther* whilst in the Earl's service; it is said to have been composed upon the organ in the parish church of St. Lawrence, Whitechurch: This may be correct, for Handel is stated to have been the organist at Whitechurch (though at this period—1718—the Church was not ready for divine worship). The Church was opened August, 1720, and the previous fact confirms the existence of a private chapel at Canons. Among the vocal performers who assisted in rendering the Oratorio of *Esther*, were Dr. Randall of Cambridge, and Messrs. Brand and Savage, who, as boys, sang in the Chorus. The Earl, as a mark of his appreciation of the Oratorio, is stated to have

¹ Strawberry Hill Collection.

presented Handel with one thousand pounds. Though now fully appreciated, Handel, even when in the zenith of his fame, was not so popular then as he is to-day. This assertion may appear somewhat paradoxical, but the fact is beyond doubt, and the assertion is borne out by the following anecdote. While conducting a morning concert at Leicester House—then the residence of the widowed Princess of Wales, to whose daughters he was music master, when George III. was about four years of age—Handel was so struck with the attention the royal child paid to the music, that he exclaimed to the performers about him, “If that young prince should live to ascend the throne, then will be the era of Handel’s glory.” No one will venture to say that his prophecy did not find fulfilment. Previous to this the following circumstance, which reveals the nervousness or irritability of the great composer, occurred. Though outwardly of an uncouth and robust appearance, he suffered so much that he could not bear to hear the tuning of musical instruments; this was therefore always done before his arrival in the orchestra. A musical wag, knowing his failing, and wanting a laugh at Handel’s expense, managed to gain access to the instru-

ments after the musicians having tuned, had left them for a few minutes, at a performance when H.R.H. the Prince of Wales was to be present, and unstrung them a half note or so lower than the organ. On the arrival of the prince, Handel gave the signal for the commencement of the Oratorio, *cum spirito*, whereon a terrible discord ensued. The enraged Conductor started from his seat, overturning a double bass viol which stood in his way, seized hold of a kettle-drum, and threw it with such force at the head of the leader of the band, that he lost his full-bottomed wig with the exertion. Without stopping to replace his wig, Handel strode to the front of the orchestra, muttering vengeance, but so much choked with choler, that distinct utterance was denied him. In this ridiculous situation he stood stamping and staring wildly about him for some moments, whereat the whole audience was convulsed with laughter, nor could he be prevailed upon to resume his duties, until the prince went to him and with great difficulty appeased his wrath.

The Earl of Carnarvon, having accepted the Governorship of the Turkey Company, found several grievances, in the form of departures from its original proceedings, requiring adjustment. The principal grievance was the imitating

of exclusive corporations who traded upon joint stock, without proper authority from Parliament by additional powers to their charter, and usurping this power by interdicting all trade in general to Turkey, insomuch that, for thirteen months—*circa* 1717—they had not suffered any woollen manufactures to be exported. Any of their members attempting to trade contrary to this prohibition, was mulcted in a fine of 20 per cent. duty upon his cloth, exacted and levied abroad, where no remedy could be obtained by this unfortunate trader. This procedure was such as no company, established by Parliament or Charter, had ventured to adopt, and the enactment appears all the more arbitrary when it is considered that the chief export to the Levant was cloth, of which commodity none had been permitted to be shipped there for thirteen months, with a possibility of its being restrained for another six, thus allowing an advantage to accrue to other nations who supplied the requirements of that market, and thereby carried away a large proportion of a staple industry of great consequence to this country. This was a somewhat complex matter for the Earl to handle. He, however, appears to have used his best endeavours to bring about an equitable arrangement.

The Turkey Company also enjoyed a portion of the raw silk trade, as we see by the following extract from the "British Gazetteer" for July 19th, 1718: "The Turkey Company have received advice of their ships the *Duke of Cambridge* and the *Dolphin*, as having arrived in the Downs, having on board 900 bales of silk."

During the year 1718, the Earl of Carnarvon received further proofs of his Majesty's favour, being nominated Master of the Horse in succession to Colonel Negus.

The Earl took steps at this period towards acquiring a town residence, more suitable for the owner of such a sumptuous edifice as Canons. To this end he first decided on rebuilding and enlarging his house in Albemarle Street, and accordingly purchased the ground of his own residence, and that of his late neighbour, Sir William Wyndham. However, as he proceeded with this intention, he developed more extravagant and magnificent ideas than the space in Albemarle Street permitted him to carry out. The site eventually selected will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

Although the Earl was supposed to have largely enriched himself during his tenure of

office as Paymaster, few, with such allegations against him, even though legally unproved, have ever enjoyed royal and public favour in so marked a degree as this nobleman, for a period extending over nearly three entire reigns. One of the highest proofs of the royal favour was the creation of the Earl, Marquis of Carnarvon and Duke of Chandos, April, 1719. The official announcement occurs in the *London Gazette*, No. 5742, and is incorrect by stating that the latter dignity was in the county of Hertford—Hereford being intended. As regards the noble peer's continuance in public esteem, no doubt his personal affability and generosity stood him in better stead with the masses than any amount of latter-day whitewashing would do. Another circumstance worthy of mention occurred on the 19th February, 1718. To Captain Henry Rodney, of Walton-on-Thames, a son was born, for whom he obtained permission of his Majesty King George I., with that of the Earl of Carnarvon, to name *George*, after the first, and *Brydges* after the latter. This favour Captain Rodney was in a better position than many to ask, being Commander of the royal yacht, which frequently conveyed his Majesty, attended by the Earl of Carnarvon, to or from Hanover.

The infant thus honoured with royal and noble sponsors, went at an early age to Harrow School,¹ where his noble godfather, the Earl, had influence, being some time treasurer, or one of its governors. He left school to enter the Royal Navy at the age of twelve. This youth became later the first Lord Rodney, one of England's greatest naval heroes.

¹ The Duke of Chandos' first connection with Harrow School was in 1713; when he was elected a Governor, in place of a relation. He is credited with having introduced business acumen and energy into the deliberations of that body; as well as ably seconding Mr. Brian the head master's labours, to raise the status of the school. Success crowned their efforts. From about 1721-1731, the Duke was acting trustee of the school estate. His connection with the affairs of the school did not cease till after 1740.

CHAPTER X.

The Earl of Carnarvon takes his seat in the House as Duke of Chandos—Purchases the lease of the Duke of Ormonde's house in St. James's Square—Death of his Grace's mother—The Duke builds a yacht—Contemplates additions to Canons—Erects and presents a house at Stanmore to Colonel Dobbins—The Duke's relatives—Brydges and Chandos Streets, W.C.

THE Earl of Carnarvon having been "gazetted" Duke of Chandos, only one other ceremony was necessary for him to become entitled to all privileges of his new rank. This was taking the oath and his seat in the Lords. According to the journals ¹ of that time the Duke presented himself in his robes, introduced by their Graces of Buckingham and Montague, with the usual official attendance of Black Rod, Garter King at Arms, and Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, who officiated in the absence of the Lord Great Chamberlain. His Grace of Chandos having concluded the usual formalities, was placed on the upper end of the Earls' bench. Hereafter the Duke will be called by his new title, by

¹ Vol. xxi.

which he is much better known to latter-day students and readers of history than as either the Honourable James Brydges or Earl of Carnarvon. The latter title was borne for many generations by the Dormer family, till within a few years of its being conferred on Mr. Brydges. Later, the title of Duke became enlarged upon by his compeers and the populace, who, to indicate their perception of his munificence, prefixed "Grand" or "Princely" to his ducal title.

The Duke's intention of building a new mansion in Albemarle Street was not carried out. Having heard that the exiled Duke of Ormonde's town house in St. James's Square had been sold by the Commissioners of Inquiry to a Mr. Hacket, an Irish attorney, for 7500*l.*, he at once instituted inquiries concerning it, with the result that his Grace is mentioned as treating for its purchase during May, 1719.

Lady Chandos, who had lived to see her son attain the highest dignity in the peerage, was, on the 23rd of May, 1719, taken dangerously ill at her residence in Chapel Street, Westminster. This illness, combined with her advanced age, eighty years, caused much anxiety to her relatives. Their fears were well founded; she died on the 30th of that month. By

her death, an estate of 4000*l.* per annum passed to the Duke of Chandos. Lady Chandos is said to have told her family, on her death-bed, that she had little else to leave them 'except her blessing,' commending them to the care of their brother, the Duke. After the lying in state, then customary—a funeral in high life being a most elaborate and costly matter—her remains were taken by night into Herefordshire, and interred with other members of the Brydges family.

Soon after this event, his Grace concluded the purchase of the Duke of Ormonde's house in St. James's Square, but, before taking up his abode there, he had extensive structural alterations, as well as decorative repairs made.

The Duke of Chandos, true to those principles of magnificence which guided his life, built a yacht, a luxury which in those times very few noblemen possessed. The yacht was built at Greenwich, and thither he proceeded on Thursday, July 2nd, 1719, to witness its launching. It was christened the *Chandos*, and in honour of the event, the Duke gave a sum of 200*l.* to be distributed among the workmen. It is probable that the latest acquisition of his Grace was made rather for ostentation than for any

real purpose, as no trace is to be found of the Duke's maritime exploits.

The Turkey Company received information, in July, 1719, of the capture by Spanish privateers, in the Straits of Gibraltar, of their ship the *Phœnix*, Captain Pallow, laden with raw hides, silk, and other commodities. This was one of the chances of war, a loss the more unfortunate, as the Company was in the bad graces of the trading community just then.

Canons, upon which large sums had been spent, was still unfinished in some respects, as we find by a notice in the *Weekly Journal*, August 18th, 1719, that "about a hundred tons of Portland stone was sent from London to Canons, to be used in the building of that structure." The Duke was maturing further plans for adding to the grandeur of his costly seat, having ground marked out for additions to its already fine porportions. Nor were the grounds forgotten by his Grace, who purposed taking in a mile of the by-road from Edgware to Bushey, for the purpose of cutting a fine canal. A Colonel Dobbins was of great service to the Duke in many of his transactions concerning Canons. Here again his Grace showed his appreciation of the axiom which he had

hitherto so well upheld, '*Noblesse oblige*,' for he erected and presented to the gallant Colonel a large house at Stanmore, as an acknowledgment of the trouble he had taken in his Grace's behalf.

That the Duke still continued to reside in Albemarle Street, when in town, is shown by a communication he made to the Treasury from thence, dated the 21st August, 1719, in connection with his late office of Paymaster, concerning some coals or accounts delivered to the garrison at Gibraltar.

His Grace of Chandos was the eldest of a family of twenty-two, though only seven survived infancy. These, on marrying, naturally extended the collateral branches of the Chandos family. Thus a Chronicle of those days states, 'that Lieut.-Colonel Jacobs, nephew of the Duke of Chandos, of Lord Hinchinbroke's regiment, has orders to sell his commission to Colonel Price,' though the reason for this command is not given; nor does the following, which appeared a week later, assist one in the elucidation, that Mr. Jacobs, nephew of the Duke of Chandos, and brother of Colonel Jacobs, is removed from his place of Deputy Comptroller at the Excise Office, and succeeded by

Mr. Hinman, a clerk in the same office, then receiving 80*l.* per annum. Whatever may have been the cause of these removals, they had no influence whatever upon public feeling towards the Duke, who, during August of this year, was elected one of the Governors of Christ's Hospital.

Although the Duke was certainly the most noted member of his family that had lived for some generations, neither Chandos nor Brydges Streets, in the west central district, are named after him, though Chandos Street, Cavendish Square, W., is. Chandos Street, W.C. was made *circa* 1637, and named after his ancestor William, Lord Chandos. Brydges Street, came into existence later (*circa* 1654) and is called after George Brydges, Lord Chandos. Another member of the family received a yet more regal affix than the subject of these pages, viz., Grey, fifth Lord Chandos, who from his magnificence was termed the "King of Cotswold." During the career of this nobleman the family Manor and Castle of Sudeley were at their best; but these possessions passed away from the family in the third generation from the fifth Lord Chandos.

CHAPTER XI.

The Duke of Chandos and the New Mississippi Scheme—A short account of the undertaking—Anecdotes concerning Law and others—Matters relating to the Turkey Company—The Duke of Chandos attacked by highwaymen whilst coming to town from Canons.

HIS Grace of Chandos, though spending large sums in land-purchasing and building at this time, appears to have had ample means at command, enabling him to indulge in other schemes. He entered early into the affairs of the French Mississippi Company, and it is recorded¹ that, up to September of 1719, he had made 300,000*l.* by speculating in its stock. His Grace's agent for this matter was Mr. Moses Hart, who appears to have had good fortune himself, as he was then building a stately mansion at Isleworth (*Thistleworth*). The Mississippi Company, which found many supporters in England, and had as baneful an effect upon the people of France as the South Sea Scheme on the inhabitants of these islands, was contemporary with the latter pro-

¹ Original Weekly Journal, 1719.

ject. The French undertaking, however, was originated by a Scotchman, named John Law, of Lauriston. Law went to Paris in 1715, and procured an introduction to the Duke of Orleans, Regent during the minority of Louis XV. The Regent, being fond of men of vivacity and wit, was much pleased with Mr. Law, who possessed these qualities in a marked degree, and who was admitted soon after to the Council of the Regent. At this period France was groaning under the weight of debt incurred by the wars of the Great Monarch Louis XIV., which pressed heavily on all the community; the onerous taxes almost annihilating commercial industries. In fact, commerce and navigation had all but ceased to exist, merchants and traders were reduced to destitution, whilst the artisan was compelled to seek employment abroad. As a remedy for this deplorable condition of affairs, it was proposed to the Regent, to expunge at once all debts owing to the State by a National Bankruptcy. To this measure he had the good sense to object, though he gave countenance to a Commission, called the *Visa*, for examining into the claims of State creditors. Prior to the Committee being appointed, Mr. Law had approached the Regent

with a scheme for remedying the state of affairs, by establishing a bank for issuing notes secured by landed property, as well as the whole of the Royal revenue; but the scheme was rejected. Mr. Law, nothing daunted, solicited and obtained letters patent, dated the 2nd and 21st of May, 1716, for establishing a private bank in Paris. The preamble in the charter of the 2nd May, however, recites the proposition originally made to the Regent as regards the establishment of a Royal Bank. The capital for the bank of Law's, subscribed by him, his brother and a few friends, consisted of 1200 shares of 5000 livres each, i.e. about 250*l.* per share, thus forming an aggregate capital of 300,000*l.* sterling. The title adopted was "The General Bank of Law & Co.," which entered on its business under very favourable auspices, with high patronage and credit. The bank continued till the 4th of December, 1718, when the Regent, having noticed the advantages enjoyed by Law's Bank, whose paper the people were not adverse to accept, resolved to take the business into the hands of the Crown; a resolution but little relished by the astute Law and his associates. The public were informed that the Crown had

taken over Law's Bank, by paying out its proprietors, and becoming answerable for their outstanding notes (amounting to fifty-nine millions of livres). The title was then altered to that of the "Royal Bank," and Mr. Law was made Director-General. Shortly after, branches were opened at Lyons, La Rochelle, Tours, Orleans, and Amiens. The bank, under Royal auspices, departed from the principles of commercial credit that Mr. Law had fixed on in his undertaking, and proceeded on the lines of public credit to further add to this evil, the tenour of the notes was altered to "Payment at sight in silver coin." Mr. Law strenuously, but unavailingly, opposed the alteration. In the February of 1720, the Royal Bank became incorporated with "The Company of the Indies," or Mississippi Scheme, from which period to the May following no less than 1,906,400,000 livres were issued in paper, making with the fifty-nine millions it was liable for (issued by Law's General Bank) a total 2,696,000,000 livres. Of this extraordinary sum, 2,235,000,000 livres were in circulation when the bank stopped payment on the 29th May, 1720. This hastened the downfall of the Mississippi Scheme, a project formed by Mr. Law soon after the establishment of his

General Bank, and for awhile turned the heads of the people of France, as well as attracted the eyes of all Europe. Had this immense project been carried out in entirety, it would have placed France at a great advantage over all other States. By the Scheme it was proposed to vest the whole possessions, effects, and privileges of all the great trading companies, the farms, profits of the coinage, the Royal and Government revenues, and the property of the bank, in one powerful corporation, which, having all the product of their affairs in its hands, could have multiplied the circulation of the paper currency to any desired extent. The principle of this stupendous undertaking having been approved by the Regent, steps for its establishment were taken, and letters patent granted, during August, 1717. In these, the Corporation was termed the Company of the West, and granted the province of Louisiana, or the country situate on the Mississippi. Its first issue was 200,000 shares of 500 livres each, payable in 'billets d'état,' at their face value. These were at a great discount at this period, owing to the irregular payments of interest, in fact so much so that 500 livres 'billets' were worth little more than 150 livres in the open market, so that accepting

these at par was like effecting a loan to the Government of some 100,000,000 livres. Further issues of capital were made by the Company as its operations increased. The covetousness generated by the prospect of gain, through the operations of this Company was such as no nation had witnessed hitherto, and stimulated an excitement almost amounting to frenzy. The excitement prevailed to such an extent, that the whole four estates of the realm turned stock-jobbers, ultimately outbidding each other with such avidity, as to raise the price of the stock in November, 1717—(the month in which his Grace of Chandos is reported to have made a large sum by its sale) to 10,000 livres a 500 livres action (share). These purchases and sales of stock were first carried on in the Rue Quincampoix, to the great profit of the house owners there, until the space became too circumscribed, when the business was removed to the Place Vendôme, and ultimately to the Hôtel Soissons, which was bought from its owner by the Company at an enormous price. The fabulous rise in stock of the Company enabled many obscure persons to become millionaires. An army contractor, and a Madame de Chaumont made 127 millions of livres; MM. de Vernie, de Farges and le Blanc 28 millions

apiece ; and thousands of others obtained smaller sums. That many of these rapid acquirements occasioned much mirth the following will show. A lackey gained a fortune large enough to permit him to keep a chariot, but the first time he used it, from force of habit, he got up behind, in his old place, instead of inside ! Mr. Law's own coachman obtained a competency, and thereupon gave his master notice to quit. Law at first refused to release him, until he had procured as good a whip as himself to fill his place. To gain his freedom, Jehu gave his master the choice of two excellent coachmen, taking the rejected one into his own service.

With the mercurial rise of Mississippi stock Mr. Law reached the zenith of his fame, and had princes, dukes and lords, together with ladies of corresponding rank, in his ante-chamber, craving audiences. One day, at a more than usually crowded gathering of persons of the highest rank in France, waiting his pleasure for an interview, the Earl of Islay, afterwards Duke of Argyll, was announced by a servant, who was ordered to admit the Earl privately. On entering, he found Mr. Law writing what he surmised to be important letters, as he had observed

the number of people in the ante-room. But he was greatly surprised and amused, when Mr. Law informed him that he was merely giving instructions to his gardener, about "planting some cabbages." Law sealed this important missive, and proposed a game of picquet to his lordship, who demurred, on the plea of inconveniencing the many persons of rank who were waiting. To this objection, Mr. Law replied, "Let them wait; they do not come here out of personal regard for me, only to plead for shares; so let them cool their heels for an hour or so."

Mr. Law's wealth at this time cannot be exactly estimated. It was asserted that he had lodged twenty millions sterling in the Banks of England and Amsterdam. But this appears to be fabulous. On the other hand, it is true that he purchased no less than fourteen estates, with titles of nobility attached; his highest acquisition in this way being the Marquisate of Rosny. In fact, Law's resources at this period were so large that he entered into negotiations for the purchase of the celebrated 'Pitt' diamond, afterwards the chief jewel in the regalia of France. But in the midst of all his luxury, and in spite of the bad character given him by many biographers, he did not forget the poor, but gave large sums in alms;

he also assisted hospitals, and founded scholarships. At last (as in the case of the South Sea Bubble) an end came to this state of over inflation and false values, one of the immediate causes being a run on the bank, during which many were knocked down and trampled to death in the excitement to reach its counters. Mr. Law next came in for a share of the popular fury, the former idol being ruthlessly cast from his pedestal, and several attempts to lay violent hands on his person being made. At last his position became so untenable, that he fled to Brussels, on December 10th, 1720, where his wife soon after joined him, she having refused to depart from Paris until debts owing to various tradespeople had been discharged.

According to an authority on those times, Mr. Law had shown signs of mental derangement previous to the bursting of his 'Bubble' scheme. The same authority states, that "Law's head is so heated that he does not sleep; he gets out of bed almost every night, and runs stark staring mad about the room, making a terrible noise, sometimes singing and dancing, at other times swearing and staring. Some nights ago, his wife was forced to ring for persons to

¹ Hardwicke State Papers.

come to her assistance. The officer of Law's guard, the first to answer the summons, found Law, in his shirt, dancing round two chairs he had placed in the middle of the room." After travelling on the continent Mr. Law arrived in London during October, 1721, and took up his residence in Conduit Street, but soon after was arraigned for slaying one Edward Wilson, in a duel in 1694, although he had received the king's pardon for the offence ! Ultimately, the indictment was quashed on the pardon being pleaded. Mr. Law's means at this time are stated to have been much reduced ; decreased, no doubt, by his extravagant habits. However, he left the country during 1722, lived at various places on the continent, and eventually died at Venice in 1729, fifty-eight years of age, in poverty compared to his former affluence. To the last he cherished hopes of being recalled to France, though the death of the Regent had made such an event almost impossible.

Thus the chimerical Mississippi Scheme was sown, blossomed and died ; an undertaking only paralleled by the South Sea Bubble, though the latter was insignificant as compared with the audacious designs of the French Company. But this would only be in accord with the latter-

day saying, "They manage these things better in France," whose people, even with the aid of the astute John Law, could not set aside the first principles of finance without disaster in the end. This subject has been dwelt on at some length, as the financial schemes of our Gallic neighbours, during the last century are not so well known to English readers as they might be.

Although the Turkey Company's export trade was at this period suffering by prohibitive measures framed by its Council, respecting the exportation of woollen cloths, the other branches appear to have been in a flourishing condition. The cargoes of two of their ships, which arrived in the Downs on September 9th of this year, 1719, were valued at 200,000*l.*, and comprised amongst other goods, 329 bales of silk, 426 bags of gaulls, 51 bales of cotton yarn, 44 bales of grograin yarn, 272 bales of cotton wool, 2 chests of rhubarb, and 85 chests of soap.

The Duke of Chandos, desiring that his son, the Marquis of Carnarvon, should receive the benefit of a course of study at Oxford, entered him during November, 1719, at Balliol College, and placed him under the tuition of Mr. Hunt.

A nobleman of his Grace's exalted rank and

reputed wealth was not likely to be left unmolested by the knights errant of the 'good old times,' to wit, the highwaymen, whose polite attentions were bestowed upon the Duke on January 30th, 1720. Through the absence of such an institution as the Central Press Association, at least three different versions of this affair appeared in the daily papers. It is therefore somewhat difficult to arrive at the exact circumstances, and recourse has been had to deduction, by comparing the two accounts that agree on the main points. The following account has therefore been gathered.

As the Duke of Chandos was returning to town from his seat at Canons, a lad hailed his Grace's coach, saying that there were two highwaymen waiting to attack it; whereon the Duke ordered his servants, who, fortunately, were armed, to seize them. This they accomplished, after a chase as far as the vicinity of Paddington, then a rural village. Upon his Grace coming up, he was somewhat inclined to let the rogues go, believing their purposed attack to be a drunken freak, but some bystanders came forward and urged that they were members of a gang that infested the neighbourhood. The Duke thereupon ordered them to be bound and conveyed to

town. The miscreants were handed over to the authorities, and examined by Sir Thomas Clarges, who succeeded in getting them to inculcate several accomplices, some of whom were arrested next day, and committed to Newgate.

CHAPTER XII.

The Duke increases his possessions—Gains 30,000*l.* by South Sea Stock—Presents his late town residence in Albemarle Street to Sir Matthew Decker—Sells Queen Square, Westminster, to Sir Theodore Jansen—Further details relating to his Grace's late office of Paymaster—He sustains a heavy loss by fall of South Sea Stock during the panic of 1720—Purchase of the north side of Cavendish Square by the Duke—The British public and the bubbles of 1720—His Grace of Chandos chairman of the York Buildings Company—Some account of that Company.

WHETHER the Duke of Chandos invested any of the gains made by speculating in Mississippi Stock in land, is not precisely known, though it is beyond dispute that, early in the year 1720, he acquired by purchase the manor of East Barnet ¹ and also the neighbouring one of Totteridge, the purchases proving that his Grace was in possession of ample funds at this period. These he endeavoured to increase, like many others of both high and low degree just then, by dabbling in South Sea Stock. It is recorded that the Duke realized 30,000*l.* by this means during March of

¹ The manors of Friern Barnet, Kingsbury, Stanmore Magna Parva, likewise belonged to the Duke.

this year. Such a stroke of fortune appears to have led him, like many others, to increase his speculations, anticipating the same fortunate results; but this was not realized.

His Grace was on friendly terms with many of the directors of the South Sea Company, particularly Sir Matthew Decker, to whom he presented his late town residence in Albemarle Street. Whether this was in return for favours shown, or for reasons of a friendly nature, cannot with any certainty be affirmed.

Extensive alterations were being carried out in the year 1720, at the Duke of Ormonde's late residence in St. James's Square, lately acquired by the Duke of Chandos. This mansion, Defoe terms "a noble palace, finely adorned by the Duke of Chandos." Its rental value was then said to be 300*l.* per annum. The repairs of a structural character, made by the Duke of Chandos, consisted in reflooring the entire premises, and demolishing and rebuilding the greater part of one side.

During the April of 1720, the Duke sold Queen Square, Westminster—(this site is now covered by Queen Anne's Mansions)—to a South Sea Company director, the well-known Sir Theodore Janssen or Jansen.

That the Duke of Chandos still had some connection with his late official appointment of Paymaster, the petition¹ of Captain Francis Stevens testifies. This document sets forth, that he was appointed by Sir Solomon de Medina, during 1711, to solicit and obtain for him several accounts for bread, etc., due during the late war, but having brought these matters to a satisfactory conclusion, Sir Solomon now refused to pay the sum agreed for his services. He therefore asked that this demand be adjusted out of the 2880*l.* in the hands of the Duke of Chandos, praying their lordships to order (the) petitioner's accounts to be laid before the Army Commissioners, and thus prevent his utter ruin. As may be presumed, their lordships refused to entertain this proposal, minuting the document on July 18th, 1720, to the effect that "This matter is not before my Lords." Now, whether the Duke of Chandos simply held the aforementioned sum as bailee on behalf of Sir Solomon, or still had the custody of certain disputed or unclaimed sums (the latter is improbable), cannot with absolute certainty be shown. However, it is clear that there was something connecting the Duke with his late office, or he would not

¹ Redington's Calendar of Treasury Papers.

have been cited by the petitioner in this matter.

The craze for speculation continued, and his Grace shared it in common with the populace and those of his own degree. His successes hitherto in such matters led him, about April or May, 1720, to enter heavily into South Sea Stock, his holding, some time in May, being worth, at the market price, about 300,000*l*. Anxious to obtain the best advice, he consulted a brother peer, the old Duke of Newcastle, who was supposed to possess considerable aptitude for business,¹ and asked him what he should do. The advice tendered, was "Sell forthwith." "No," replied Chandos, "I want half a million." "Then sell 100,000*l*. and take your chance for the rest," urged the shrewder peer. "No," said Chandos, "I'll keep it all, against its higher advance." He lost nearly all in the panic that shortly followed. In fact, it so happened that South Sea Stock had then all but reached its maximum price, though it never reached the inflated condition of its compeer, Mississippi Stock, which for a long time stood at 1800 per cent. premium; several transactions, in some of the frenzied moments of the supporters of that

¹ According to Grainger.

scheme, taking place at 2050 per cent.; while South Sea Stock never realized, for cash, the quoted 1000 per cent. premium.

Of the many satirical pamphlets, etc., published during the era of this mania, none make any direct allusion to the Duke of Chandos' speculations in South Sea securities. One, however, styled "Matter of Fact, or the Arraignment and Trial of the Directors of the South Sea Company," humorously describes a trial. One Councillor Crumbo (with his learned brothers Clamour, Query, and Trifle) appears to support the indictment, and leads off with the following rhapsody :—

" When Stocks ran high and wits-production fell,
Wit grew a stock, which *wits* began to sell.
 These taught, the ' Cits,' their birthright was to *cheat*,
 That fortune could legitimate *deceit*."

" Here, those that on him, menials joy'd to wait
 With South Sea *squibs*, besiege a *Duke's* estate,
 For *Cypher* scrolls, his rent-roll they command,
 He gets their *paper*, and they get his *land*."

The latter allusion was probably intended for the Duke of Chandos, though it is doubtful whether the losses incurred by his speculations in stock of the South Sea Company shook

the Duke's fortune to the extent premised, as soon after the collapse of this disastrous scheme he purchased the whole of the north side of Cavendish Square, then recently laid out. Here he purposed to erect as noble a mansion as any in London, considering his then fine residence in St. James's Square not sufficiently becoming the owner of 'Canons.' Such an expenditure tends to prove that the losses incurred by his speculations had not during 1720 made such inroads on his Grace's fortune as in any way to alter his mode of living.

Of the thousand and one schemes hatched in 'Change Alley during the 'Bubble' mania, many well deserved the latter-day appellation of 'wild cat.' In fact, the greater majority were little better than webs spun by promoting spiders to entrap those stupid flies, the 'British Public.' A large number of these undertakings were so utterly devoid of reason, that even our present day race of 'gulls' would scarcely have been deceived by any of them. Many had no legal status whatever; others existed only in the imagination of their promoters; but the populace were so reckless in their mania, that permits to subscribe to an embryo company, at some future time, were sold for as much

as 60*l*. All classes were bitten by the mania, even the Prince of Wales, who was announced as Chairman of the Welsh Copper Company. It must be admitted, that, taking the aristocracy as a body, they did not lend their names to, or become associated in the management of these enterprises, in the same ratio as their descendants have since done, under the present Limited Liability Acts. The subject of this work, however, stands out conspicuously as chairman of the York Buildings Company, whilst the Duke of Bridgewater appeared at the head of an undertaking for erecting houses in London and Westminster. The aggregate capital of the various schemes placed before the public during this period amounted to 300,000,000*l*., an amount that then exceeded the value of all the land in the country.

The York Buildings Company, with which, to his loss, the Duke of Chandos was associated, was an old undertaking, incorporated in 1691, for supplying water from the Thames to the Strand and its neighbourhood. The works for this purpose were situated at the bottom of Buckingham Street, Strand, or upon some portion of the ground of York House. Here was erected, and worked for many years, one of the first practical



YORK BUILDINGS WATER WORKS, LONDON.

steam engines, the engine drawing water from the Thames at the rate of three tons a minute. This was accomplished by steam, which, arising from water in a copper boiler, became compressed and condensed, and then, moving by evaporation, struck a counterpoise. This struck another which moved a beam, thus imparting an up and down motion, thereby drawing water by means of a pump from the river, and raising through iron pipes to the top of a tower, where it was discharged into a great leaden cistern, and thence conveyed by pipes as far as Marylebone Fields. Here it was stored in a reservoir (now the centre of Cavendish Square), from which the then new houses in the neighbourhood, to the number of one thousand or more, were supplied. The description of this engine is compiled from an account that appeared *circa* 1729. So far, the York Buildings Company was a duly authorized undertaking, and continued its operations, with slight alterations, until the year 1719, when the proprietors sold their works for 7000*l.* to a syndicate, who set forth that they desired to improve them, and for this purpose invited subscriptions for new capital to the extent of 1,200,000*l.* The capital, however, was devoted to the purchasing of forfeited and other freehold

estates; this ultimately brought the company almost to ruin. Such a departure from its original purpose would now be termed *ultra vires*, i.e., not provided for by the Articles of Association. It was at this period that the Duke of Chandos was elected Chairman of the Company, its new shares, for which 10*l.* had been paid, rising in agreement with the inflated condition of the market, to 305*l.*, or near 3000 per cent. premium. So far, all was smooth sailing, and his Grace evidently anticipated a 'boom'; though the satirists of that time portrayed this and similar speculations, on what was then a favourite vehicle for caricature, viz., a pack of cards. On the five of spades, runs the following doggerel:—

“ You that are blest with wealth by your Creator,
And want to drown your money in Thames water,
Buy but York Buildings, and the cistern there
Will sink more pence than any fool can spare.”

Unfortunately, the prognostication proved correct. The Company's stock, which had risen with its contemporaries to the price before stated, fell rapidly. This was brought about by the great progenitor of all these bubbles, the South Sea Company, which, by bringing legal authority to bear against the many unofficial undertakings,

soon laid this and similar institutions low. The writ of *scire facias*, issued on the petition of the directors of the South Sea Company, expressly mentions the York Buildings Company, the Lustring Company, the Welsh Copper Company, and the English Copper Company, and is supplemented by the ominous words "and divers others, issued contrary to the law." This action on the part of the South Sea Company ultimately recoiled on its own head, and it is by no means certain that the momentary relief from the machinations of its rivals, secured by this means, produced any material benefit to the South Sea Company itself. The instructions given to the Crown lawyers on the issuing of the writ of *scire facias*, were sufficient to strike terror into the hearts of the unfortunate shareholders of the illegitimate enterprises; the lawyers being instructed to prosecute all who had opened books of subscription, together with those who had subscribed, made, or accepted any transfer of stock in such. This was indeed a drastic measure; it caused the stock of the York Buildings Company to immediately fall from 300 to 200, and two days after the commencement of proceedings, it was unsaleable at any price whatever. The same also applies to the stock of the other companies

expressly mentioned. This was a disastrous matter to the shareholders, in common with the Duke of Chandos, who appears to have escaped the penalties mentioned in the writ, excepting the loss of his money. The York Buildings Company was afterwards reconstituted, and held lotteries, etc., for annuities; but his Grace retired from official connection with it. Thomas, Earl of Westmoreland, was afterwards appointed governor. The Company was one of the few that survived the South Sea mania, and it existed for some years into the present century.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Hon. and Rev. Henry Brydges, D.D.—The Duke of Chandos' fortune after the losses in the 'Bubble' year—His costly establishment at Canons—'Dr.' Thirlby his Librarian—The parishioners of Whitechurch and the Duke—He proposes to acquire a road from Canons to Cavendish Square—Description of the intended new town mansion—His Grace petitions the House of Lords on a question of privilege—Committal of the offenders—Their ultimate release upon payment of costs—He votes against an inquiry into the affairs of the South Sea Company—The Duke connects himself with the Royal African Company.

THE Duke's brother, the Honourable and Rev. Henry Brydges, D.D., having been alluded to previously, opportunity is now taken to make the reader better acquainted with him, particularly as he appears to have been the only other member of the family who acquired distinction. Mr. Brydges took his degree of D.D. upon his return from Aleppo, and settled down to minister to the wants of his living, viz., the parishes of Addlestrop and Broadwell, in Gloucestershire, to which he was presented by his brother-in-law,

Theophilus Leigh, Esq., as early as 1699. In the Convocation that met on April 9th, 1713, Dr. Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, then Prolocutor, selected his old schoolfellow, Dr. Henry Brydges, as his Vice. The Lower House, by a unanimous vote, consented to the appointment; besides, a Vice was necessary, owing to the frequent absence of Dr. Atterbury, who was Chaplain to the Queen. Shortly after Dr. Brydges was appointed Chaplain to his Majesty King George I., a position he resigned in 1718, doubtless to the satisfaction of his friend, Dr. Atterbury, who thereon appointed him Archdeacon and Prebendary of Rochester in 1720, but whether his well-known intimacy with Bishop Atterbury was a bar to his promotion to a higher dignity in the Church is not definitely recorded. However, upon the death of Prebendary Brabant in 1722, Dr. Brydges was given the vacant stall in St. Paul's Cathedral. The learned Doctor did not rise to any higher position in the Church.

The losses sustained by the Duke, consequent upon the fall in the stocks of the South Sea and York Buildings Companies, led many to conjecture whether he could continue his princely style of living at Canons. These surmises were, how-

ever, ill founded, the Duke continued to live as formerly. The establishment at Canons consisted of 120 persons, and was so ordered, that while there was an abundance for all, no waste should be allowed. With this end in view, Mr. Watts, an able accountant, had drawn out a plan by the Duke's orders, showing at a glance a day's, week's, or month's expenditure, upon a given annual income. The plan was engraved on a copper plate, and considered by many a very extraordinary effort of economical wisdom. His Grace sold all the fruit produced on the estate, not required for his own table, saying it was as much his property as the hay and corn off his fields. This remark was possibly made in reply to a suggestion that the fruit ought to be the gardeners' perquisite. It is doubtful whether anyone knew exactly what the Duke's resources were at this period; they, however, must have been of some magnitude, in spite of recent losses.

His Grace appointed as his Librarian at Canons the eccentric, but learned, 'Dr.' Thirlby—(Styan Thirlby), a well-known critic of the period, for whom, at one time, some degree of future eminence was presaged. These hopes, unfortunately, were frustrated by the Doctor's

quarrelsome temper, coupled with habits of indolence, aggravated by an occasional too free indulgence in alcoholic liquors. He first proceeded with studies for a clerical appointment, but his eccentric and volatile nature induced him to relinquish these suddenly, and apply himself to the study of medicine. Tiring of medicine, he adopted letters, ultimately accepting the care of the Duke of Chandos' library at Canons. During the time he held this office, he is said to have displayed his erratic propensities to the utmost, adopting a perverse and indolent independence, and carrying this so far as to refuse his company to his noble patron when solicited. This, coupled with other vagaries, in time produced a rupture regretted by neither.

During the month of August, 1720, the internal decorations of the parish church of St. Lawrence, Whitchurch, were completed. The edifice, as previously stated, had been rebuilt—except the tower—by the Duke of Chandos. The parishioners, thinking his Grace would do more towards making their church worthy its proximity to his noble mansion, sold the peal of bells, anticipating that their patron would present them with a larger and better set. Here their judgment was at fault: the Duke, on hearing

what they had done, dashed their hopes to the ground by refusing to comply with so strangely expressed a demand. He, however, presented them with handsome silver-gilt Communion vessels. The church was re-opened for Divine Service on the 29th August, 1720. Handel is stated to have composed his Oratorio of *Esther* for this occasion.¹

His Grace's son, the Marquis of Carnarvon, being on the eve of marriage, the Duke proposed to settle his mansion in St. James's Square on him. This, no doubt, was one of the reasons for the erection of the proposed new residence in Cavendish Square, particularly as the latter position was best suited to another gigantic project which his Grace had conceived. The project was no less than the acquisition of sufficient land to make a road (where he could not procure any larger area), from his estate of Canons to Cavendish Square; so that he might be able to drive from one to the other without passing out of his own possessions: certainly a bold scheme, worthy of its originator, though perhaps not then so unattainable as it would be at the present time. Then, however, the neighbourhood to the north and north-west

¹ See page 84.

of Cavendish Square was open country, in fact the latter abutted on or was part of the old Marylebone Fields. Had the Duke's speculations in this memorable year been crowned with success, he would most probably have set about putting the idea into execution. Such a purpose has been wrongly ascribed to his son, the second Duke, who had not even the means, on his father's death, to retain Canons as a residential estate, and he could scarcely have wanted a private road to an estate that was doomed to be deprived of its mansion. The second Duke used his steward's, or secretary's, residence on Brockley Hill, adjacent to the estate of Canons, where a room was handsomely fitted up to receive his Grace when visiting Mr. Sharpe on business matters. The house on Brockley Hill was adorned with several paintings, said to have been part of King Charles's collection, but the building has long since disappeared, and, as its owner was not connected with the first Duke, it is scarcely worth while to relate anything connected with it.

The intentions of the Duke of Chandos, respecting his proposed new residence in Cavendish Square, are shown by an elevation designed by John Price, in the King's Prints and Drawings,

British Museum. The style portrayed is similar to that of Canons, though scarcely on such an elaborate scale; but the proposed edifice was to have been of sufficient magnitude to cover almost the whole of the ground purchased by the Duke. However, the design was never carried out, although his Grace did eventually build on the ground at a later period and resided there.

On January 10th, 1721, the Duke of Chandos upheld his dignified character, by laying a complaint before the House of Lords ¹touching a breach of privilege committed by Samuel Burton, late Receiver of Taxes for the County of Radnor, and John Jones, late deputy Sheriff for the same county, in prosecuting a writ in his Majesty's Court of Exchequer (and by virtue of an *extant*) and other proceedings, entered the estate, and seized the goods and chattels of divers of his tenants, within the privilege of Parliament; and breach of the prerogatives of that House. This having been proved by several witnesses who were sworn and examined at the Bar of the House, it was ordered, "That in conformity with an Act passed the 12 and 13 Will. III. intituled, 'An Act for preventing any inconvenience that

¹ House of Lords Journal, vol. xxi.

may happen to privilege of Parliament,' that the Serjeant-at-Arms do forthwith attach the bodies of the said Samuel Burton and John Jones, and keep them in safe custody during the pleasure of this House." A fortnight later, the persons attached petitioned the House for their discharge: the petition was ordered to lie on the table. On the 1st of February, the Serjeant-at-Arms was ordered to bring the prisoners to the Bar of the House for examination, when, after hearing their evidence, they were adjudged guilty of the breach alleged, and ordered to remain in the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms. John Jones remained in custody till the 28th of that month, when he was brought to the Bar of the House, received (when upon his knees) a reprimand from the Lord Chancellor, and was thereupon discharged on payment of his fees, these alone being no light matter. His fellow-prisoner, Samuel Burton, was kept in prison until the 7th of the following month, when he was brought up and discharged, having undergone a similar process.

About the middle of January, 1721, a debate took place in the Lords, relative to the expediency of an Inquiry into the frauds of the South Sea Company. After some discussion, the Inquiry was resolved upon by a majority of 22. The

Duke of Chandos ¹ voted with the minority; his reason for so doing is difficult to define, unless it were to screen some personal friends connected with the Company.

With the infatuation of a gambler the Duke of Chandos now entered largely into another enterprise, viz., "The Royal African Company," ² a Corporation that had borne a chequered career since the days of Elizabeth. In common with all joint stock undertakings this Company had enjoyed the advance in stocks during the Bubble mania of the preceding year, its shares, on which some 23*l.* had been paid, had risen to 200*l.*, but fell rapidly after the collapse of the South Sea Company, and rose again to par during January, 1721; this was brought about by the Company's determining (as they had many times before) to conduct their operations with spirit. To this end, permission was granted to increase their capital by the issue of new shares to the extent of 524,000*l.*; this sum was subscribed. A meeting was then held for the purpose of electing officers for the ensuing year, at the

¹ Egerton MSS.

² The Royal African Company, after existing for three centuries under various charters, died from impotence occasioned by mismanagement. Will latter-day Corporations show any better record?

offices of the Company in Leadenhall Street. His Majesty King George was elected Governor, Francis Acton, Esq., Sub-governor, Sir Bibye Lake, Bart., Deputy, and twenty-three gentlemen and merchants, together with one peer (the Duke of Chandos) as a Court of Assistants. To his ultimate cost his Grace subscribed largely for shares in this Company, trusting, no doubt, to his own business abilities, coupled with those of an influential body of merchants on the Court to aid in recovering his losses from the panic of the preceding year. But let the writer of a pamphlet concerning this Company at the time, tell the result of such a combined force of 'talent.' "An eminent peer¹ was made a director, ships were chartered, and laden with goods and miners. They fell a-trading and digging through mountains in search of gold. Their trading stock was soon spent, no gold was found, and a great hole in the side of a hill alone remains as an everlasting monument of their industry." Upon news being received of this unfortunate state of affairs, the stock of the Company fell rapidly, touching 7 before the end of the year.

¹ The Duke of Chandos.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Duke of Chandos elected a Governor of the Charterhouse—The Marquis of Carnarvon receives the degree of LL.D.—His Grace made reversionary Clerk of the Hanaper—Account of that office—The Duke and the poet Gay—Purchase of the Advowson of Rotherhithe by the Duke—Departure of the Marquis of Carnarvon for “The Grand Tour”—The Duke made Lord-Lieutenant of Hereford and Radnor—Account of Sudeley Castle—His Grace’s servant waylaid on the road from Canons—The Duke made a Privy Councillor—Honoured by the Prince of Wales with the High Stewardship of Cantref Moelynaidd, Radnor—Account of this manor—His Grace rewards a clergyman for honesty—The Royal African Company again—Mr. Speaker Onslow’s character of the Duke.

THE Duke of Chandos received in 1721 another proof of popularity, together with further marks of royal favour. He was elected, early in April, one of the Governors of the Charterhouse, in the place of the late Duke of Buckingham.

On the 8th of April, the Marquis of Carnarvon received the degree of LL.D. at Oxford. His lordship’s tutor, a Mr. Stewart, took that of M.D. at the same time.

One of the favours bestowed upon his Grace at

this period by his Majesty King George II. was his nomination as reversionary Clerk of the Hanaper (or Hamper) in which grant he managed to get his sons John (Marquis of Carnarvon) and Henry included. As many may be curious to know what this office was, the following account, compiled from a curious old work dated 1727, giving the nature and business of the several public offices, will be interesting. The Clerk of the Hanaper was an Officer of Chancery, sometimes termed Warden of the Hamper; his duty was to receive all money due to the Crown for seals on charters, patents, writs, &c., together with the fees to the officers for examining and enrolling the same. He was further obliged to attend the Lord Chancellor daily, in term time, and at all times of sealing, having with him leather bags wherein to place the documents sealed. These bags were then closed and impressed with the Lord Chancellor's private seal, and delivered to the Comptroller of the Hanaper, who attended on seal days, to check and enter all documents enclosed in them, comparing these with the Clerk of the Hanaper's account. It is not to be assumed that a nobleman of his Grace's position did any drudgery of office, as stated; this was done no doubt by a deputy. The emoluments,

on the other hand, were received by the Duke, his substitute getting a moderate remuneration.

Gay, the poet, who had been a great sufferer by the decline in South Sea Stock because he had not sold when advised, ventured amongst the shoals of 'Finance,' beginning by accepting a present of 1000*l.* of South Sea Stock from the 'Elder' Craggs. He was induced this year, as some *solatium* to his losses, to publish his poems by subscription, and was so fortunate as to obtain much encouragement. Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales sent their names as subscribers for a handsome amount. Among the most liberal of the poet's patrons were the Duke of Chandos and the Earl of Burlington; each took fifty copies of the book. A few such subscribers nowadays would ensure the success of any limited edition.

The Duke about this time purchased (possibly with a view to providing a friend or relative with a 'living'), from Edmund Stokes and others, the advowson of Rotherhithe, a parish then more rural and inviting than now.

The education of his Grace's son and heir would not have been deemed complete in those times without his making the 'Grand Tour.' The Marquis set out during July, 1721. Gossip was

then as rife as it is at present concerning the probable or projected marriages of persons of rank. In this case his lordship was supposed to be going to marry Lady Anne Egerton, only daughter of the Duke of Bridgewater, on his return from abroad; but the rumour was only a further proof of the old adage: "That common report is—" well, a common perverter of the truth.

However unfortunate the Duke had been during the past year in his financial speculations, his star was still in the ascendant at Court, as in August, 1721, he received from the King the Lord-Lieutenancies of the Counties of Hereford and Radnor, in place of Earl Coningsby deceased. His Grace much appreciated his Majesty's kindness; Herefordshire was his native county, and its capital town had been represented by him in Parliament for many years. It had also associations of another kind, though the bulk of the estates appertaining to the Barony of Chandos lay in Gloucestershire. The sixth Lord left the Manor and Castle of Sudeley to his wife Jane, daughter of Lord Rivers, who survived him. She married George Pitt, Esq., of Strathfield Saye, Hampshire, for her second husband, and by this means the ancestral titular estate of the Chandos family passed away from it. Sudeley

Castle is of great historic interest; Queen Catherine Parr died there, September 5th, 1548, and was buried in the chapel adjoining the castle. Her funeral is memorable from the fact that it was the first royal interment according to the rites of the Reformed Church. Queen Elizabeth visited Sudeley Castle in 1592, and here Grey, the fifth Lord, already alluded to as the 'King of Cotswold,' held his 'Court' in great splendour. During the Parliamentary War, in 1642, this castle sustained a siege, on behalf of the King, who visited it the following year. Upon its being surrendered to the forces of Parliament, 'Old Noll's' troopers of the 'Praise God Barebones' sort desecrated the chapel; many monuments appertaining to the Chandos family were ruthlessly destroyed, and the graves violated. This closed the career of the Castle as a stronghold and complete edifice;—such it had been since the days of Stephen—its walls soon after fell into decay.

In 1802, Pitt Rivers, Esq., a descendant of the before mentioned George Pitt, Esq., was created Baron Rivers of Sudeley Castle, Gloucester, though some considered that the older Barony¹ of

¹ See Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges, Bart., "*Lex terræ*," 1831: also G. F. Beltz "Review of the Chandos Peerage Case," for the context.

Chandos was not extinct. Baron Rivers disposed of the ruins of the castle, together with fifty or sixty acres of land, to Richard, Marquis of Buckingham and Chandos, grandfather of the late Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, created in 1822. This nobleman sold the castle and land to John and William Dent, who had acquired nearly all the estate belonging to the ancient Manor of Sudeley, in 1837. Under their ownership the north quadrangle was restored, and other improvements were effected.

On a Sunday evening in September of this year, one of the Duke's servants was returning to town from Canons on horseback, when his horse fell, unseating its rider; whereupon two footpads attacked him, and, before he could regain his feet, robbed him of his whip and about five shillings. It is a matter of some surprise that these attacks were not more frequent on the Duke or his retinue, the 'vulgar folk' having acquired a most extravagant idea of the amount of his Grace's wealth. But it is probable that the Duke's magnanimous and benevolent nature had gained respect even amongst these enemies of law and order.

The year now under review was almost literally crammed with honours for the

‘Princely’ Chandos. He received proofs still further of his Majesty’s goodwill, being appointed a member of his Privy Council. The Prince of Wales followed his august father’s example by appointing his Grace, during November, High Steward of Cantemelenis, Radnor—(this is the ‘press’ rendering of the name—“Cantref Moelynaidd”¹ its correct appellation)—is an ancient and extensive tract of country, which was governed in early times by chieftains styling themselves Lords of Ffenllys and Moelynaidd, some of whom became Kings of Britain, others Dukes and Earls of Cornwall. William Rufus put an end to this long chain of succession by granting the territory to Ralph de Mortimer. Its conquest was not so easy a matter as its grant, for it was not accomplished until the reign of Edward I., who confirmed the grant to the family of Mortimer, in the person of Earl Wigmore. The Earl was found guilty of treason, the grant then escheated to the Crown, but was re-granted to the same earldom, *temp.* Edward II. On the failure of the male line of this family, it again passed into the ownership of the Crown by the marriage of Anne, heiress of the Mortimers, with Richard, Duke of York, whose

¹ Williams’s Radnor.

son became Edward IV., and has been so held to latter days. This vast estate at one time contained one hundred townships, the tenants faithfully paying their rents into the Royal Treasury by the hands of receivers, till the twelfth year of Charles the First's reign, when Stewards, or High Stewards, as they style themselves, were appointed. The first Steward was the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. Among other notable persons who have held this honour are such names as the Marquis of Powis, Sir Robert, and Mr. Harley, until the name of his Grace of Chandos is reached—(6th Geo. I). The appointment was given to the Duke on the 4th of February, 1721, though chronicles of those times (in the form of newspaper reports), mostly fail to inform their readers until the following December. There were many customs attached to the office of Steward, one being authority to hold a Court Baron every three weeks. In one sense, the preliminary value of the appointment was not large, it amounted to 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum; this, however, was supplemented by fees from the different Courts which the Steward was empowered to hold (chiefly for election purposes). But perhaps its

most important and profitable privilege was that of the free and several fisheries together with the rights of hawking and hunting, with full power to depute these rights to others. The 'Grand' Duke held the office for twenty-three years, in fact, until his decease, but since the days of George III. the estate has been leased principally to members of the Harley family.

The many signs of royal regard bestowed upon his Grace, led the disseminators of news, in 1722, to prognosticate further favours ; it was reported during the month of May that the Duke was to receive one of the vacant garters. In this attempt to forecast the bestowal of their sovereign's goodness, they were not happy, as his Grace did not receive one of the vacant stalls in St. George's Chapel.

The terror that had been struck into many promoters of, and investors in, unauthorized joint stock companies before the panic of 1720, by the Government directing a prosecution against them, was lessened in a measure this year, 1722 ; the Governor of the English Copper Company informing its shareholders at a Court held during June, that upon their petition a *nolle prosequi* had been entered by the Attorney-General on the writ of *scire facias*, in which this Company was

specially named. As two of the other Companies out of the four originally endorsed on this writ were still continuing business, viz.: the York Buildings and English Lustring Companies, it is probable that they had satisfied the ends of justice, receiving tacit or implied permission to continue their operations, though no doubt in a modified form.

A clergyman, whom his Grace much esteemed, was at Canons one day, looking over the library. The Duke, wishing to make the divine a present, as a small token of his esteem, desired him to select any book he liked. The learned divine thereon chose a volume of no great value. On reaching home, and opening the book, he was greatly surprised to find a bank bill of considerable value between its pages. Feeling sure that his Grace could not possibly have been aware of the likelihood of his choosing the work in question, he hastened to Canons the next day, with both book and bill, and placed them before the Duke, who thanked him for his trouble, and took back the note or bill, only to exchange it, however, for one of double the value. This he handed to his clerical friend, remarking, "Accept that, sir, for your honesty." This cir-

¹ Grainger's Biography.

cumstance is quite in harmony with the character of the Duke.

That fickle jade fortune further distressed the 'Princely' Chandos this year. Anxious, no doubt, to retrieve his previous losses in joint stock undertakings, he wooed the goddess somewhat too ardently, with the usual result to those who have too much zeal; she proved a 'jilt.' This was fully exemplified by the unfortunate turn taken by the affairs of the Royal African Company. Its directors made a call of 5*l.* a share, and shortly after ruthlessly declared a reduced dividend of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. These combined circumstances did not tend to improve a falling market. The call pressed heavily on several large holders of the Company's Stock; their shares, with 23*l.* paid, being then only worth 7*l.* The Duke is said to have behaved in his usual magnanimous manner, sticking to the 'ship,' with great loss ultimately to himself and his family.

Speaker Onslow's allusions to the Duke's career may not be out of place here, although in one or two instances the terms used scarcely seem warranted. "The Duke of Chandos was the most surprising instance of a change of fortune raised by a man himself, that had happened,

I believe, in any age. When he first entered into the office of Paymaster, he had little or no estate of his own, and never inherited more than a few hundred pounds per annum;¹ but by the means of this office, and the improvements of money, in little more than ten years, living expensively too in the meanwhile, he had accumulated a fortune of six or seven hundred thousand pounds—I have heard more—and without any vices, or being addicted to pleasures, in the compass of twenty-five years he was reduced to almost the difficulties of indigence,² by a course of extravagance in his expenditure that had neither taste, use, or sense in them. He was a bubble for every project, and a dupe to men that nobody else would³ keep company with. Yet with all this, he had parts of understanding and knowledge, experience of men and business and a gravity of deportment, which more qualified him for a wise man, than what the wisest men have generally been possessed with. He fell—for so indeed it should be called—pitied and lamented by all who knew him, for a man of more true goodness of nature, or gentleness of manners

¹ Doubtful.

² This is a rather strong term, but the reader will be able to judge for himself as he proceeds.

³ I cannot entirely substantiate this.—AUTHOR.

never lived." The foregoing character confirms that of other authorities, although Speaker Onslow furnishes details which many have overlooked; these will assist in elucidating much that will appear in the following pages.

CHAPTER XV.

The Duke of Chandos' gift to his labourers—Daniel Defoe's reference to Canons—Marriage of the Marquis of Carnarvon—Mr. Munroe, the Duke's organist—His Grace brings another question of privilege before the Lords—George Vertue, the engraver's, allusions to the pictures, etc., at Canons—The unfavourable agricultural season of 1725—His Grace relieves many distressed husbandmen—Copy of a MS. letter to Lord Dysart by the Duke of Chandos.

THE Duke of Chandos, though a kind master and generous patron, possessed a shrewd knowledge of men, gained by business intercourse with their varied ranks, which would have served him well if carried into all his transactions, and particularly money matters. As an instance of his perspicuity, the following is recorded. The Duke, in his occasional bounties to labourers on his estate, would never exceed the sum of sixpence to each ; this, being personally given, was generally accompanied by, "That may do you good, more, idle and drunk," a sweeping allegation, though it contains a substratum of truth.

The immortal author of "Robinson Crusoe," Daniel Defoe, in his work entitled "A Gentle-

man's Tour through England," published in 1724, refers to the magnificence of Canons, but he does not give so precise an account as that already presented to the reader. He, however, frankly acknowledges that "his pen could ill describe the place, a pencil not much better, being only fit to be spoken of when on the spot." After other panegyrics, the observant Defoe dwells rapturously upon the private chapel, and further dwells on the rapidity with which the whole edifice was erected, and thinks its noble owner fully deserving of the motto assumed by one of the French Kings, "He saw and it was made." The retinue of his Grace, he avers, numbered some 120 persons (thus bearing out previous allusions); the catering for these being conducted so that "a face of plenty appears in every part of it, nothing needful being withheld, nothing pleasant restrained, every servant in the house is made easy, and his life comfortable, and they have the felicity that it is their lord's delight and desire it should be so." Defoe's visit took place April, 1724, as he mentions finding the family much pleased by the marriage of the Duke's eldest son, John, Marquis of Carnarvon, who married, early in this month, the Lady Catherine Tollemache, daughter of the Earl of Dysart, the ceremony taking place at Canons.

His Grace still maintained the services in his private chapel at Canons ; although they were not conducted by such contemporary geniuses as Handel or Dr. Pepusch. A newspaper of that period states, that a Mr. Munroe followed those great masters ; this gentleman had previously served his Grace in the less dignified position of page, and afterwards was appointed his organist. Mr. Munroe no doubt possessed musical talent ; for during the same year he was appointed organist of St. Peter's, Cornhill.

The question of privilege that the Duke of Chandos had raised some few years previously in the Lords, was again brought before their Lordships by his Grace, in another form, on the 15th March, 1725. The breach complained of was the arrest of one Richard Leach, a helper in the stables of James, Duke of Chandos, by one Timothy King, an officer of the Marshalsea Court, at the suit of Edward Brignall, during the sitting of their Honourable House, in other words, during the Sessions of Parliament. Having heard the evidence in support of the breach, the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, his deputy or deputies, were ordered to attach the persons of the aforesaid Timothy King and Edward Brignall, for the offence alleged, and to

hold them in safe custody during the pleasure of that House. This having been accomplished, they were brought to the Bar of the House, in custody of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, where, upon their knees, they received a reprimand for their offence from the Lord Chancellor, and thereon were ordered to be discharged from custody, upon payment of certain fees (these had been recently re-adjusted).

	£	s.	d.
To the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod (on attachment)	5	0	0
Ditto upon discharge	5	0	0
For every day's custody	1	6	8
To the Yeoman Usher, on attachment	2	0	0
Ditto upon discharge	2	0	0
To the Clerk of the Parliament for the order of release	6	13	4
To his Clerk Assistant	2	0	0

Verily a merry little scale of fees, wherefrom to frame a nice little bill for an unfortunate delinquent enjoying the appellation "commoner." On the other hand, the peers were heavily mulcted if their transgressions needed the services of the Gentleman Usher.

The reader has had an account of Canons and its grounds; mention is now to be made of its art treasures. The observant George Vertue,¹—the famous engraver and connoisseur—alludes

¹ Strawberry Hill MSS.

to them after a visit to Canons, *circa* 1725, in these words: "The Duke of Chandos' house, several paintings in the chapel by Bellouchi, in the house some by Sir James Thornhill, much fine sculpture, marble statues, books, etc. The great grandfather (picture) of the Duke, an old man, the face very natural—the manner stiff. The Duke's father, a wig and whiskers; his grandfather, a half-length Vandyck, a good copy; several of his relations, and his own picture; his first lady, his son, and a daughter, by Sir Godfrey Kneller; the Duchess of Buckingham in a black setting, with children by her; the Duke's picture hung up above, supposed to have been painted after his death, either by Vandyck or after him, most likely Mytens. At Whitchurch, near Canons. The Church built lately, of brick, and adorned at the expense of the Duke of Chandos; the altar painted by Laguerre; the ceiling, eight Scripture scenes, the life of Christ; two other large pieces by the altar, all ornamented, and painted by the same master with great force and strength. A nativity and a dead Christ, since painted by side of altar, by another hand, Bellouchi, an Italian." The foregoing is but a meagre account of the pictures and treasures at Canons, but important

as concerning the paintings in the parish church. Vertue, after the Duke's death, made a further inspection of the objects of art, particularly the pictures, during their disposal; his remarks, together with a full account of the paintings, will be given later.¹

The summer of 1725 was particularly wet, and seriously affected the hay harvest; so much so as to cause great distress among those who had journeyed in search of hay-making. Towards the end of June three hundred of these persons marched to the Royal Exchange, where a collection was made for them amongst the merchants. The amount, being divided, came to about sixpence each. The Duke, having heard of the circumstance, considered it a good opportunity for his appearance as the Princely Chandos, and caused it to be intimated that, if any necessitous husbandmen were in the neighbourhood of Canons, and would present themselves at his gates on a certain day, they should be relieved. To this invitation about one hundred and fifty assembled, when each was given a half crown and a sixpenny loaf. It is said such kindness led many of the neighbouring gentry to follow the Duke's example.

¹ See pages 213—219.

The disastrous agricultural season alluded to and the affairs of the African Company, appear to have made inroads upon his Grace's fortune this year, as the following letter ¹ shows :—

“Canons,

“October 16th, 1725.

“MY LORD,—The convincing proof you have been pleased to give me of your wishes for ye welfare of my family² (ye happiness of which you have in so distinguished a manner been so good to compleat) makes me flatter myself you will not take amiss ye liberty I use to communicate to you, a matter of some importance to Lord Carnarvon, upon which I shall be proud to know your Lordship's sentiments, and to receive ye honour of your advice. It relates my Lord to ye grant of Enfield Chace, made by King William and Queen Mary to Sir Robert Howard, and which I bought of Sir William Pearson, some years ago. I have in it a term of fifty-three years, to commence from ye expiration of that made to Lord Lisburn, by King James, in which Mr. Pepper, who is now in possession of it, hath still twelve years to run; this gentleman finding himself not so well able

¹ Original in MS. Department, British Museum.

² Referring to the marriage of his son with the Earl of Dysart's daughter.

through ye decay of his health, to take that care of it, it requires, is inclined to dispose of ye remainder of his term. Mr. Pulteney having it applied to me to know if in case he could agree with him I would be willing to sell him likewise my grant, by which means he would be secured, of a term of sixty-eight years. I cannot but acknowledge I inadvertently gave him too much encouragement to proceed in such a treaty, which hath had that effect, that he now acquaints me he hath absolutely concluded it with ye Government, for a sum certain, but as I have since considered more carefully ye importance of this grant, from ye severall advantages which may arise from it, I think it is of too great consequence to be parted with rashly, from my family, and Mr. Pulteney is so sensible of this, that he generously offers that in case I incline to keep it, to relinquish his bargain with Mr. Pepper to me, upon ye terms ye hath agreed it. By ye particulars which I have ye honour to enclose to you, your Lordship will see—for it is upwards of 630*l.* per annum—but the great advantage which may be hoped for in time from it consists chiefly in this, that ye Chais—Chace—contains 14,000 acres, most of which will let for between 20*s.* and 30*s.* an acre. If not and ye publick should be inclined

to enclose this ground there is no doubt, but a large tract thereof would be assigned to ye owner of this grant, in consideration of his right or if that design—which hath been often of late thought on—should now be effective, it is to be hoped, and I think hardly to be questioned, but that Lord Carnarvon would find it almost enough to obtain lycenzenes—licences—from time to time, to enclose portions of it. Mr. Pepper hath lately had leave to do so, by ninety odd acres, and if it was granted to him Lord Carnarvon, will have no reason to despair, of getting ye same liberty to do ye like, by more considerable parcels. I might add it is not distant above seven miles from Canons, hath an extraordinary good house upon it, fit for a gentleman, gardens well planted, with fruit, and several good fish ponds. It joyns likewise to ye Manor of Totteridge, and Barnet which your lordship knows are settled on your son-in-law (Lord Canarvon). I can sell my grant for between eight and ten thousand pounds, but as I should be concerned for so fine an estate, and so desirable—With regard to ye command as well as profit it carries with it—go out of my family. What I have humbly to propose to your lordship, is, that if you think it a matter so far worthy your notice so to incline ye to lay down ye money

Mr. Pulteney, hath agreed to give Mr. Pepper—which I take to be between four and five thousand pounds—and 4000*l.* more to me for my grant I'll assign it over to Lord Carnarvon, and consent to it being settled in jointure, on his lady, and will pay your lordship interest at ye rate of 4 per cent. for ye 4000*l.*, ye amount of ye purchase, ye make of my grant, and question not but Lord Carnarvon will do ye same for ye money, you shall be pleased to lay down for Mr. Pulteney, for what he is to pay Mr. Pepper for ye remainder of his term, by this means your lordship will have an opportunity of increasing ye favours ye have already bestowed upon me by augmenting Lord Carnarvon's present estate, and your daughters joynture, above 630*l.* per annum—and which in all probability will come in time to be a great deal more—without being out of pocket yourself, since your having to receive interest, for ye money, you lay down, renders this transaction, little other than changing hands, in a mortgage, especially since, you are both very ready and desirous to consent that this estate, be charged with and made a security, for ye money to be disposed of by your lordship, as you shall think fit. I am sensible my Lord it will be troublesome for you to write an answer to this long letter and there-

fore, if you'll allow me ye liberty I'll have ye honor, to wait on you on Tuesday morning to know your pleasure herein, and ye other business. I have promised Mr. Pulteney to let him know what he is to depend on in this affair ye middle of next week. Lord and Lady Carnarvon desires Lady Dysart, and your Lordship will please to accept of their most humble duties, and my wife joyns with me, in ye same assurances on her part, that I do on mine, that I am to her Ladyship and to your Lordship,

“My Lord,

“A most faithfull and obedient Servant,

“CHANDOS.”

This letter is a very fine specimen of ‘special pleading’ in the epistolary art, as well as a proof that the rumours afloat were correct; though his Grace still resided at Canons, and kept up his residences at Bath and elsewhere. It cannot be said with certainty, that Lord Dysart complied with his noble relative’s request; it is thought he did not, and other references tend to confirm this.

CHAPTER XVI.

John, Marquis of Carnarvon, enters the House of Commons—His death—The Duke of Chandos' bowling green at Stanmore—Petitions for a warrant (Privy Seal) on final accounts relating to the army—Lord Henry Brydges assumes the courtesy title of Marquis of Carnarvon—The Duke of Chandos erects a residence and other buildings at Bath—S. Humphreys' poem, entitled "Canons," dedicated to his Grace—The Duke's tenants in Middle Scotland Yard petition the Treasury—His Grace's projected residence in Cavendish Square—Marriage of Henry, Marquis of Carnarvon—A servant of the Duke's waylaid—Sale of the Advowson of Rotherhithe—The Duke and Barnet Races—Another of his servants waylaid and robbed—The poet Young inscribes his poem, "Imperium Pelagi," to the Duke—Alexander Pope describes Canons in his poem called "Moral Essays"—Public feeling upon the attack.

IN 1726, John, Marquis of Carnarvon, entered the House of Commons as M.P. for Steyning, Sussex, in place of Major-General Pepper. Unfortunately, he did not live sufficiently long to permit of any opinion being formed of his probable success as a legislator; he died April 5th, 1727, much to the regret of his family and friends, from an attack of small pox.

The time-honoured game of bowls, appears to

have been considered too plebeian a pastime to be indulged in at Canons, whose princely owner, however, unwilling to deprive his guests of such an old English game, had a piece of ground on which a handsome pavilion was erected, laid out at Stanmore for the purpose. It is said that his Grace built a Dower house at Stanmore for his Duchess.

Many would consider fourteen years sufficient time to complete the audit and inspection of the accounts concerning his Grace's late position as Paymaster-General; but, by a petition¹ dated May, 1727, he evidently considered from that the accounts were being too expeditiously audited! The Duke asserted that sundry of these, amounting to 14,612*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*, were only just complete; and prayed that a warrant (Privy Seal) might issue for this amount on his final account. As this document is unendorsed, I am unable to present the reader with the views of their Lordships of the Treasury on the subject.

Lord Henry Brydges was relieved, in July, 1727, of any apprehension as to his succession to the courtesy title of Marquis of Carnarvon, and as heir apparent to the Dukedom of Chandos. His late brother's wife gave birth to a daughter,

¹ Redington's Calendar of Treasury Papers.

much, no doubt, to the disappointment of that lady and her relatives. Pending this event, his lordship appears to have been called by the courtesy title, and is so described when taking part in the coronation of George II.

The Duke of Chandos, in 1727, appears to have recovered in some measure his pecuniary position ; he rebuilt at Bath, for a residence, a house that formerly belonged to Lord Robert Brook, and also built a court of houses containing five residences, all from the designs of Mr. Wood, a local architect of repute. His Grace likewise obtained some property contiguous to the Hospital of St. John the Baptist (an old charitable institution of Bath), but he could not rebuild his property without disturbing the occupants of that institution. The Duke therefore arranged with the trustees, that the whole should be demolished, his Grace undertaking to rebuild the hospital in return for some favours shown regarding the building line of his property ; this arrangement, it is said, gave the occupants of the hospital more room and comfort.

The Duke was again honoured, in 1728, with poetic effusions. These were upon his estate of "Canons," by S. Humphreys, a poet whose fame has not been handed down to posterity. The

composition is of a similar character to that by Gildon, some years before, therefore the reader shall not be troubled with any of this tyro's warblings. Why they were ever produced or published is a matter of amazement, unless it were to find a patron in the Duke; but this motive does not appear to have been successful.

The subjoined extract from a petition¹ presented to the Lords of Treasury during December, 1728, is curious, as showing the difference in procedure for the redress of grievances in those days from the method of our time. Messrs. P. Farewell and R. Moore, wharfingers of Middle Scotland Yard, Whitehall, state that they are under-tenants of a piece of ground, situate in that yard, adjoining the River Thames, which was granted to the Duke of Chandos and his heirs, with free liberty of making a wharf for the loading and carriage of goods. In October last, the wharf was broken up to make a drain, whereby petitioners have been prevented from doing any work, by which they have not only lost their business, but also their customers, and must be ruined unless relieved. Minuted, "It is a common sewer, and the inconvenience, if any, must be submitted

¹ Redington's Calendar of Treasury Papers.

to." This petition is interesting from another point, showing that Father Thames, at that time, was sufficiently deep to permit of barges being discharged on what has been *terra firma* since the building of the Thames Embankment.

The changes that had occurred in the Duke's fortune prevented him from carrying out his original intention in respect to building a new residence in Cavendish Square. It is also difficult to fix the exact date of the erection of the two brick mansions that are ¹ still to be seen there, one at the corner of Harley Street, the other at the corner of Chandos Street; ² both houses form the termination of the north side of Cavendish Square. Many writers have assumed that the houses were intended as wings to the proposed edifice. This is extremely doubtful: on reference to the plan showing the elevation proposed, I am inclined to believe that they were built as separate residences to make the ground remunerative; one of them being used as the residence of his Grace, until he should be able to cover the intervening space with a more magnificent edifice. The space was kept boarded or walled in for many years, in fact until after the

¹ In 1892.

² Chandos House.

Duke's death, when the residences now standing upon it were erected.

On December 21st, 1728, Henry, Marquis of Carnarvon, was married to the daughter of Lord Bruce, with great ceremony. On the Sunday following, the Queen Consort and several lords and ladies of her Court, were pleased to wear the favours presented to them on the occasion of the marriage, when they attended divine service at the Chapel Royal.

One of his Grace's servants was waylaid and robbed on the road to Canons in the January of the next year, the thieves relieving him of one guinea and a half, though he fortunately saved three guineas by dropping them into his boots. Owing to the dangerous condition of the road it is a matter of surprise that these attacks were not more frequently made upon the Duke and his retainers.

In 1730, his Grace sold, to the Master and Fellows of Clare Hall, Cambridge, the advowson of Rotherhithe, which he had acquired in 1721. The exact reason for the sale of the patronage cannot be traced.

During September of the same year, Barnet Races were held. This may be information to readers interested in sporting matters, though

the meeting is now numbered amongst the bygones; in fact, few probably know that it ever flourished. The following will show the way in which the Duke of Chandos interested himself at this meeting, the "Tuesday began the horse races at Barnet, when Mr. Jones's mare, Sweetest when Naked, was distanced the first heat by a stone horse, unknown, who won the plate, by which very considerable sums of money were lost by the jockeys, who laid great odds. On Wednesday, the 5*l*. plate was won by Towns-end's galloway, and a buck, given by the Duke of Chandos, was won by Mr. Nash's horse." The buck, no doubt, was the product of his Grace's park at Canons.

Upon the evening of the last mentioned day, another of the Duke's domestics was attacked by two highwaymen in going from London to Canons. The robbers came up to him a little beyond Kilburn turnpike, and made him dismount, whereon they led him into an adjacent field, the better to search him without molestation, though their captive had nothing on him worthy the name of booty. To revenge themselves in a measure, and also to prevent their captive from raising an alarm, they bound him with his garters, leaving him in the field, where he lay until between

eleven and twelve o'clock the same night, before he could attract the attention of a passer-by.

Young, the well-known author of "Night Thoughts" and other poems, produced, in 1730, his *Imperium Pelagi*, a novel lyric, written in imitation of Pindar's manner. The lyric was written to commemorate his Majesty's return from Hanover in the September of the former year, together with the succeeding Peace. This work he inscribed to the Duke of Chandos, whom he refers to in the Prologue or Argument, thus :—

"Plenty's a means, and joy's the end,
Exalted mind their joys extend,
A *Chandos* shines, when other joys are done,
As lofty turrets, by their height,
Retain the rays of the declining Sun,"

and again, towards the close, the following occurs :—

"Nor *Chandos* ! thou the Muse despise
That would to glowing *Acteon* rise,
(Search Pindar's breast) thou Theron of our time.
Seldom to man the Gods impart
A Pindar's head, a Theron's heart
In life, or sing how rare, the tune sublime."

In the following year, Pope, the immortal bard of Twickenham, wrote his poem of "The Use of Riches," dedicated to his patron, the Earl of Burlington. This production was one of the

series entitled "Moral Essays," and in it he alludes to the Duke of Chandos, under the name of *Timon* (not a happy comparison). The references made will interest the reader, who, by this time, probably knows more concerning the 'Princely' Chandos than the 'note of interrogation' ever knew.

"At *Timon's* villa let us pass a day,
Where all cry out: 'What sums are thrown away!'
So proud, so grand: of that stupendous air,
Soft and agreeable come never there.
Greatness with *Timon* dwells in such a drought
As brings all Brobdignag before your thought.
To compass this, his building is a town,
His pond an ocean, his *parterre* a down:
Who but must laugh the master, when he sees,
A puny insect, shivering in the breeze!
Lo! what huge heaps of littleness around,
The whole a laboured quarry above ground.
Two Cupids squirt before a lake behind:
Improves the keenness of the northern wind.
His gardens next your admiration call,
On every side you look, behold the wall!
No pleasing intricacies intervene,
No artful wildness to perplex the scene:
Grove nods at grove, each alley has a brother,
And half the platform just reflects the other.
The suffering eye, inverted nature sees,
Trees cut like statues, statues thick as trees,
With here a fountain, never to be played;
And there a summer-house, that knows no shade:
Here *Amphitrite* sails through myrtle bowers;
There gladiators fight, or die in flowers;
Unwatered all the drooping sea horse mourn,

And swallows roost in Nilus' dusty urn.
 My lord advances with majestic mien,
 Smit with the mighty pleasures to be seen :
 But soft—by regular approach—not yet,
 First through the length of yon hot terrace sweat ;
 And when up ten steep slopes you've dragged your thighs,
 Just at his study-door he'll bless your eyes.
 His study ! with what authors is it stored ?
 In books, not authors, curious is my Lord ;
 To all their dated backs he turns you round ;
 These *Aldus* printed, those *Du Sueil* has bound,
 Lo ! some are vellum, and the rest as good
 For all his lordship knows, but they are wood.
 For *Locke* or *Milton* 'tis in vain to look,
 These shelves admit not any modern book.
 And now the chapel's silver bell you hear,
 That summons you to all the pride of prayer :
 Light quirks of music, broken and uneven,
 Make the soul dance upon a jig to Heaven,
 On painted ceilings you devoutly stare,
 Where sprawl the saints of *Verrio*¹ or *Laguerre*,
 On gilded clouds in fair expansion lie,
 And bring all Paradise before your eye.
 To rest, the soft cushion, and soft dean invite,
 Who never mentions *hell* to ears polite.
 But hark ! the chiming clocks to dinner call ;
 A hundred footsteps scrape the marble hall,
 The rich buffet well coloured serpents grace,
 And gaping Tritons spew to wash your face.

¹ Pope is quite right to place this name suppositiously, though a little research would have prevented his perpetuating a mistake, still retained by many. Verrio died in 1707, some years before Canons was begun, and therefore, after the rebuilding of St. Lawrence's, Whitechurch, some of whose decorations are attributed to this artist (Verrio).

² Laguerre, however, was a pupil or disciple of Verrio's.

Is this a dinner? This a genial room?
No, 'tis a temple, and a hecatomb.
A solemn sacrifice, performed in state,
You drink to measure, and to minutes eat,
So quick retires each flying course you'd swear
Sancho's dread doctor and his wand were there.
Between each act the trembling salvers ring,
From soup to sweet wine, and God bless the king.
In plenty starving, tantalized in state,
And complaisantly helped to all I hate.
Treated, caressed, and tired, I take my leave,
Sick of his civil pride from morn till eve;
I curse such lavish cost and little skill,
And swear no day was ever passed so ill.
Yet hence the poor are clothed, the hungry fed;
Health to himself, and to his infants bread,
The labourer bears: what his hard heart denies,
His charitable vanity supplies.
Another age shall see the golden ear
Imbrown the slope, and nod on the *parterre*,
Deep harvest bury all his pride has planned,
And laughing *Ceres* reassume the land."

These lines confirm what has already been stated respecting the grandeur of Canons, though the poet, with others, takes exception to some want of taste, which lavish expenditure does not always atone for. In making comparison between his Grace and Timon, Pope evidently had in his mind the old fable of the 'ass and the dying lion,' inclining probably to the belief that as his Grace's fortunes were upon the wane, he would be able to point the finger of scorn at him with

impunity. The poet's judgment was evidently at fault, as the populace testified by their dissent from the attack on one for whom they entertained much respect. This revulsion caused Pope to prevaricate in a manner unworthy of his reputation. In fact, it is difficult to find a parallel case in Pope's career in which the public so thoroughly disagreed with the poet's muse.

CHAPTER XVII.

Pope denies that the Duke of Chandos was meant for the 'Timon' of his poem—Letters upon the subject in the *Daily Courant*—Pope personally addresses the Duke on the matter—His Grace's reply—Lady Betty Germain alludes to this controversy in a letter to Dean Swift—Bill passed for vesting certain lands appertaining to the Duke-dom of Chandos—Hogarth caricatures Pope—The Duke of Chandos lends his house at Bath to the Prince of Orange.

THE reader of these pages has seen enough to justify the popular presumption that the lines of Pope clearly point to Canons and the Duke of Chandos. The poet soon found he had raised a hornet's nest about his ears, in the form of dissent from his views, though at every opportunity he strenuously denied the application. Such proceedings made matters worse than an open apology would have done, the denial giving greater publicity to the attack. Thereon Pope found he had overstepped the bounds of prudence, though he still persistently disavowed the application, not only in public, but also in his private correspondence; an instance of this is shown in the following letter to Aaron Hill.

“Twickenham, December 22nd, 1731.

“DEAR SIR,—I thank you for your Tragedy, which I have now read over a sixth time, and of which I not only preserve, but increase my esteem. You have been kind to this age in not telling the next in your preface, the ill taste of the town—of which reception you describe it to have given of your play, more, indeed, than I had heard, or could have imagined—is a more flagrant instance than any of those trifles mentioned in my epistle, which yet I hear the sore vanity of our pretenders to Taste flinches at extremely the little you mention had been a properer¹ to that epistle, I have heard no criticisms about it, nor do I listen after 'em. “*Nos hæc minimus esse nihil.*” I mean I know the verses to be so, but as you are a man of tender sentiments of honour, I know it will grieve you to hear another indirectly charged with a crime his heart is free from, for if there be truth in the world, I declare to you I never imagined the least application of what I said of Timon could be made to the Duke of Chandos, than whom there is scarce a more blameless, worthy and generous beneficent character among all our nobility, and if I have not lost my senses, the town has lost

¹ I give the letter in its original form.—J. R. R.

'em. By what I heard so late as but two days ago of the uproar upon this head, I am certain, if you calmly read every particular of that description, you'll find almost all of 'em point blank the reverse of that person's villa, it's an awkward thing for a man to point in defence of his own work against chimera, you know not who or what you fight against, the objections stand up in a new shape, like the armies and phantoms of a magician, and no weapon can cut a mist or a shadow. Yet it would have been a word in justification against a most malicious falsehood—I speak of such as have known by their own experience these twenty years, that I always took up their defence, when any streams of calumny ran upon 'em—if it gives the Duke one moment's uneasiness, I shall think myself ill-paid, if the whole world admired the poetry, and believe me would rather never have written a verse in my life, than any one of them should front, to a truly good man. It was once my case before—but happily reconciled—and among generous minds nothing so endears friends, as the having offended one another. I lament the malice of the age, that studies to see its own listeners in everything: I lament the dulness of it that cannot see an excellence. The first is my unhappiness, the

second yours ; I look upon the fate of your piece, like that of a great treasure, which is buried as soon as brought to light, but it is sure to be dug up the next age.

“ I have been very sensible in these two occasions to feel them—as I have done—at a time when I daily fear’d the loss of—what is and ought to be dearer to me than my reputation, but that of a friend, or anything except my morals—of a most tender parent, she is alive and that is all. I have perceived my heart in this, and you may believe me sincerely,

“ Dear sir,

“ Your faithful and affectionate servant,

“ A. POPE.”

The foregoing letter has an important bearing on the controversy, and one that appears to have escaped research by many in alluding to this matter ; but the denial did not and will not stand the test of comparison with the references so pointedly made. The letter appears to be almost a plea *ad misericordiam* on the writer’s behalf, and to intimate that Mr. Hill should enter the arena of public opinion in defence of the poet. Again, Pope somewhat overacts his disavowal by dwelling upon the popularity and

public character of the Duke of Chandos. This serves to make the epistolary satire still more calumnious; nor does Mr. Hill appear to have thrown himself into the 'breach' in his friend's defence.

On the next day, the following letter appeared in the *Daily Courant*, December 23rd, 1731:—

“TO JOHN GAY, Esq.¹

“SIR,—Had the author—of the Epistle on Taste—attacked vice, at a time when it is not only tolerated, but triumphant, and proclaimed with ostentation, as a merit, I should have been under some apprehension for the consequence.

“'Tis said the satire is personal. I thought it could not be so, because all its reflections are on things, and not on persons, not on the man, but on his house and gardens, pictures, statues, trimmed trees, and violins.

“Some fancy that to say a thing is personal is the same as to say it is unjust, not considering that nothing can be just but what is personal. I am afraid, such writings as teach no man, will mend no man.

“The application of Timon's character to the Duke of Chandos, is monstrous as it imputed, to

¹ The poet Pope's friend, patronized by the Duke of Chandos.

the person the most different in the world from a man hater, and whose taste and encouragement of wit have ever been shown in the rightest place. This author has always been distinguished and favored by this very person, besides, is his garden crowded with walls? Are his trees cut into figures of men? Do his basons want water? I am sick of such foolish applications."

The letter does not bear any signature, assumed or otherwise. Why it is addressed to the poet's compeer Gay is uncertain, unless he had remarked the want of "taste" in his friend Pope's application. The other communication that appeared conjointly with the above, runs as follows:—

"To A—— P——E, Esq.

"SIR,—You insinuate as if vice was authorized by law, and so triumphant, as not to be opposed without ill consequences, at a time when the laws against immorality were never so strictly executed since the Reformation. Are not the following personal?

"Who but must laugh, the master when he sees
A puny insect, shivering at a breeze!
Behold, my Lord, advances o'er the green,
Smit, with the mighty pleasures to be seen."

"By the word just, you must mean like, and by unjust injurious, for the more just—like—a

personal reflection is, so much the more unjust—injurious—it must be, so that these insinuating men seem to reason very like.

“If you had consulted your Scotch retailer of Boyle, and Moren, he would tell you that Timon was first eminent for his extraordinary generosity, the abuse of which drove him into a hatred of mankind! viz.,

“Treated, caressed, and tired, I take my leave,
Sick of his civil pride, from morn to eve.”

“It is a known trick amongst lampooners, when a man is to be ridiculed to draw the remarkable lines of his picture, beyond the life, yet with such resemblance, that all the world may cry ‘’Tis he.’”

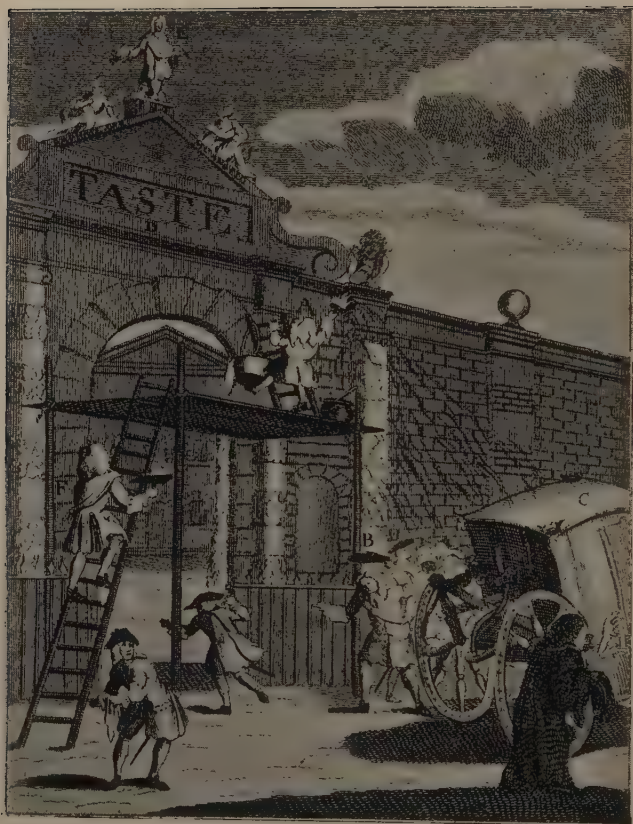
Like the letter preceding, this one also bears no signature, and both are fair specimens of the letters which appeared in the controversy. Some asserted that it was unworthy of the poet to assail a man of rank and generosity, who was popularly credited with having befriended Pope by a gift of 1000*l.*; but here again, common report was a common perverter of the ‘truth,’ as Pope himself denied this, nor does there appear to be any foundation for the rumour. Pope still endeavoured to allay the public irritation by all kinds of subterfuges, going so far as to indite an

apology under the *nom de plume* of *Cleland*. But the artifice was no more successful than his dissimulation. He was driven at last to indite an exculpatory letter to the Duke himself. His Grace answered with magnanimity, as a man accepting the excuse without believing the professions, remarking "that to have ridiculed his taste or his building, had been an indifferent action in another man, but from him, after the reciprocal kindness that had been exchanged between them, it was less easily excused." This is one rendering of part of the reply forwarded by the Duke; another runs thus, "he took the application that had been made, as a sign of malice of the town, against himself, and seemed very well satisfied it was not meant for him." As no verbatim copy of this correspondence can be traced, the reader must accept the references mentioned, though which is correct it is difficult to say, but either shows the spirit in which the reply was couched.

Lady Betty Germain, the correspondent of the famous Dean Swift, alludes to Pope's discomfiture in a letter to the Dean, dated

"January 11th, 1731-2.

"I met with your friend Mr. Pope the other



WILLIAM HOGARTH'S PLATE 'TASTE.'

day ; he complains of not being well, and indeed looked ill. I fear th at neither his wit or sense do arm him enough against being hurt by malice, and that he is too sensible of what fools say, the run is much against him on the Duke of Chandos's account, but I believe their rage is not kindness to the Duke, but glad to give it vent, with some tolerable pretence of truth. . .”

Pope found himself next year attacked by Hogarth, who is alleged to have been patronized by the Duke of Chandos. In the well-known plate called “The Man of Taste,” by that eminent painter and engraver, Pope is represented as whitewashing the gate of Burlington House, bespattering the coach of his Grace of Chandos as it passes. The force of this caricature is as keen to-day as when it appeared, satirizing the poet's patron, as much as the poet had satirized by his pen the Duke of Chandos. This probably led Pope the next year to attempt a peace-offering to the public and his Grace, by mentioning the latter in a poem termed the “Characters of Men,” in these words,—

“Thus gracious Chandos is *belovèd* at sight,”

a somewhat fulsome eulogy after his previous allusions in the Epistle on Taste,—

“Sick of his civil pride from morn to eve,” etc.

Hogarth's production, however, appears to have established a truce between the poet's muse and those whom it had offended; though, by the irony of fate, Pope's prophecy that—

“Another age shall see the golden ear
Imbrown the slope, and nod in the parterre,”

became true, metaphorically speaking, by the dismantling and piecemeal sale of the costly fabric and its surroundings.

Leave was given this year—1731—by the Upper House, to bring in a Bill vesting certain manors and hereditaments in the said Duke and his heirs, pursuant to certain articles of agreement made upon the marriage of his son Henry Brydges, commonly known as the Marquis of Carnarvon, with the Honourable Mary Bruce, eldest daughter of Charles, Lord Bruce. The Bill passed the Lords and was thereupon sent down to the Commons, who approved it without any amendment, and shortly after it received the Royal Assent. The bearer of the message of concurrence with the Bill, from the Lower House, was the then well-known ‘Long’ Sir Thomas Robinson.

In January, 1734, the residence of the Duke at Bath was accepted by his Serene Highness

the Prince of Orange, for a sojourn there while taking the waters. Upon arriving, the Prince dispatched an express to his Grace, at his house in St. James's Square, intimating his safe arrival with but little fatigue. Bath still retains a record of this visit of his Serene Highness.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Dean Swift and the Duke of Chandos—The Dean's verses on his Grace—Lady Betty Germain and the Dean—Mrs. Pendarves and the Dean—The Duke of Chandos' letters in the Egerton MSS. collection—Death of his Grace's chaplain and of the second Duchess of Chandos.

ANOTHER literary giant of those days has handed the Duke down to posterity in prose and verse, to wit, the celebrated Dean Swift, of St. Patrick's, who addressed his Grace under date of August 31st, 1734, thus :—

“MY LORD,—Although I have long had the honour to be an humble servant to your Grace, yet I do not remember to have ever written you a letter, at least, since her Majesty's death, for this reason, your Grace will considerably wonder to find a man wholly forgotten, begin or commence by making a request, for which I can offer no other excuse than that frequent application has been made to me by many learned and worthy persons of this city and kingdom, who having heard that I was not unknown to you, seldom failed any opportunity of pressing me to

solicit your Grace—of whose generous nature fame has well informed them—to make a present of those ancient records on paper or parchment, which relate to this kingdom—Ireland—which were formerly collected, as we have heard, by the late Earl of Clarendon, during his government here, and are now ¹ in your Grace's possession. They can be of no use in England, and the sight of them will be of little value to foreign *virtuosos*, and they naturally belong to this poor kingdom. I could wish they were of great intrinsic value, so as to be sold on the Exchange for a 1000*l.*, because you would then part with them at the first hint, merely to gratify your darling passion of generosity and munificence, and yet since they are only valuable in the place of their birth, like the rest of our natives, I hope you will be prevailed on to part with them at the humble request of many very deserving persons in this City and University, in return for which bounty the memory of it shall be preserved in that honourable manner which so generous a patron of learning, as your Grace, will be cer-

¹ The MSS. referred to was a collection made by Sir James Ware, the celebrated Irish antiquary, during the seventeenth century, afterwards acquired by Lord Clarendon, son of the historian, during 1686, and purchased on his death by the Duke.

tainly pleased with, and at their request alone, I desire your compliance, without the least mention of myself as any way instrumental.

“I entreat your Grace’s pardon for this interruption, and remain, with the greatest respect,

“My Lord,

“Your Grace’s, etc., etc.,

“JON. SWIFT.”

Certainly this was a bold request by one not easily abashed, though why his Grace should part with the MSS., simply because he was requested to do so by the Dean (admittedly on behalf of other persons) seems strange, especially so when it was known the Duke had acquired them by purchase, showing a desire to possess them. Had he, on the other hand, acquired these documents by bequest or inheritance, the demand would not appear so singular. The Dean, however, wisely cloaks his demand by an ardent appeal to his Grace’s generosity. Nevertheless, the demand was not complied with; the denial being accepted as a personal rebuke by the Dean, who has immortalized the request by these verses :—

“James Brydges and the Dean had long been friends,
James is be-duked, and so their friendship ends;
And sure, the Dean deserves a sharp rebuke,
From knowing James, to boast he knows a Duke,

“Yet since just Heaven the Duke’s ambition mocks,
Since all he got by fraud is lost by stocks,
His wings are clipped, he tries no more in vain,
With bands of fiddlers to extend his train.

“Since he no more can build, and plant, and revel,
The Duke and Dean seem more near a level.
O wert thou not a Duke—my good Duke Humphrey
From bailiffs’ claws thou scarce could’st keep thy —— free,

“A Duke to know a Dean? Go, smooth thy crown,
Thy brother,¹ far thy better, wore a gown.
Well, but a Duke thou art, so pleased the King,
Oh! would his Majesty but add a string.”

These lines evince irritation, no doubt, heightened by his Grace denying any acquaintance with him (the Dean). The latter, determined not to desert his quest, called in the aid of other persons to accomplish that which he could not effect alone, and addressed himself with this object to Lady Betty Germain, who replies to the Dean under date of November 7th, 1734:—

“I have no acquaintance with the Duke of Chandos, nor, I believe, has the Duke of Dorset, much, and to be sure, it would be of no purpose to ask him for those records again, because if he would have parted with them, he would have done it at your asking.”

Nothing daunted, the Dean approached another lady correspondent of his, viz., Mrs. Pendarves, who replied as follows:—

¹ The Rev. Henry Brydges, D.D.

“ St. Mary’s Square,
“ Gloucester,
“ November 20th, 1734.

.
“ As soon as I received your letter, I went to your brother Lansdowne, and spoke to him about the Duke of Chandos ; he desired me to make his compliments, and to tell you he was very sorry he could be of no service to you in that affair, for he has had no manner of correspondence, or even acquaintance, with the Duke these fifteen years. I have put it, however, into other hands, that will pursue it diligently, and I hope, obtain for you what you desire ; if they do not succeed, you must not call me negligent, for whatever lies in my power to serve you is of too much consequence for me to neglect. . . .”

But this lady’s efforts on the Dean’s behalf were as futile as others.

His Grace’s favour at Court still continuing, he received during December, 1734, a grant from his Majesty King George II., for working all the royal mines of gold and silver that were already or may be, discovered in the county of Stafford, and to work, melt, smelt, and refine the same. Had this grant been for the more plebeian, but useful metal, iron, or even coal, his Grace’s

descendants (who were expressed in the patent) would have found themselves possessed of almost untold wealth. Whether the Duke attempted to make use of his grant I have not been able to discover. This patent may surprise even some of our present day mineralogists.

Amongst the Egerton MSS. is a portion of a letter (appended) in the handwriting of the Duke of Chandos, though to whom addressed I cannot trace, but, by the footnote, presumably to a relative of Lord or Lady Dysart."

"January 4th, 1735-6.

"Of honour speak it, from association, but from real fear, that you have by your character of Mr. (minister) raised¹ her expectations so high, that when I come to wait on her, she may find the original—for she hath never seen me—fall so short of ye picture, as to create a disgust that may not be wiped off.

"I am, dear Sir,

"With utmost truth,

"Your most obliged and humble servant,

"CHANDOS."

[Note appended.]

¹ If this letter were dated a year later, another construction might be placed on it.

“I can’t but take notice of one thing; that in all this transaction, I don’t find L. D. (Lady Dysart) hath ever hinted her brother should be made acquainted with it, this motive would imagine she perhaps thinks it not so proper to be communicated to him; to be sure the more ye power is looked into, the more better it is.”

This note hardly seems to coincide with the matter expressed in the text, as that refers to some person who had never seen his Grace, and this could scarcely have been the case with Lady Dysart, his late son’s mother-in-law.

The Rev. Hugh Shorthouse, chaplain to the Duke of Chandos, and lecturer at Chelsea, died early in February, 1735. This reverend gentleman was without doubt the Duke’s town chaplain, as it has already been shown that the Rev. Dr. Desaguliers held a similar appointment at Canons.

On the 14th February, his Grace again addresses his, to us unknown, correspondent. This communication relates to the matter mentioned in the note appended to the first-mentioned letter, and runs thus :—

“February 14th, 1735-6.

“DEAR SIR,—I have received much to my surprise a letter just now from Lady D., something

more kind than her last, she writes me word, she'll consider of this affair and give me a positive answer on ye 6th of March. I go out of town this morning, and will stay at Shawhall, till ye 2nd of March, when I propose God willing to return to Cannons (Canons) in order to be in town, at Essex Buildings on ye day she hath appointed, to receive her final answer, she cannot keep me I think in suspense, if she doth not intend to comply at last, it will be a most serious, and unheard of usage, if she would. I return you all imaginable thanks for your friendship, and desire you to be assured I will on all occasions,

“ With ye utmost readiness

“ Approve myself

“ Dear Sir,

“ Your most obliged, faithful servant,

“ CHANDOS.”

By this it appears that his Grace was seeking some favour (possibly of a pecuniary nature), from her ladyship; and one which was evidently of importance, as the word ‘serious’ occurs in the text. This letter was answered, notifying fresh developments in the matter, as is shown by his Grace’s reply dated

“ Shawhall,

“ February, 21st, 1735-6.

“ DEAR SIR,—I return you many thanks for your obliging letter which last post brought me, and for ye trouble you have given yourself in speaking again to Mr. C., concerning ye affair in hand, shortly after what hath past, and this fresh time that is taken to consider of it, one can hardly imagine, but that ye lady's reputation will be such, as I could wish, should it prove otherwise, I shall have great reason, to think ye usage I have met with to have been very hard. I must desire you will make^e my compliments to Mr. C. and take an opportunity of seeing him again, in this interval, to know how matters are like to go, for I don't expect to hear myself anything further of it, till I return in order to which I propose setting out for Cannons (Canons) on Monday, or Tuesday furnight—fortnight—as I think there is a good deal of likelihood that this matter will end as I desire, I must beg you will be very cautious in what you hint, with regard to anything that you may have in view, and since ye success cannot fail to be determined in a few days it will certainly be better not to make your boast of it

whatever in anything till ye fate of this is seen.

“I return ye draught (draft) you sent me for ye next presentation to spare, it is a Rectory, but it will be proper, it should be filled up with your son’s name, because I have been asked for it for a nephew of my own, who is in orders, and I gave for a reason why I could not do it, because I had already promised it your son.

“I am with great truth

“Your most faithful humble servant,

“CHANDOS.”

Whatever this mysterious business may have been it was not ultimately concluded, as the following shows :—

“March 10th, 1735-6.

“DEAR SIR,—Since I saw you I have some reason to desire you will not take any steps in ye affair you mentioned, when I tell you why I desire it, you will be astonished, I believe at it, and more when ye faithlessness is assured you. I don’t, however, think ye other will come to anything, so great is ye unsteadiness of some people, but this I am very sure of, that your

friendship lays me under such obligations to you that you shall ever find me,

“ Dear Sir,

“ Your most faithful and obliged servant,

“ CHANDOS.”

Reference having been made to the possible cause of this correspondence, it only remains to be said that his Grace's financial resources were evidently much strained at this period.

On July the 19th, 1735, the second Duchess of Chandos died of an apoplectic fit which seized her while on a visit to the Honourable Mrs. Brydges at Avington, Haywood's Hill, Middlesex. This seizure occurred on a Monday afternoon, and she lingered, though speechless, until the following Wednesday, when she expired. The Duchess is said to have been a model of exemplary piety and conjugal affection, combined with a sweet and benevolent disposition, and was one whose loss was severely felt by all who knew her.

CHAPTER XIX.

HIS Grace assists the Colonists for the new State of Georgia—Monument to the Prince of Orange at Bath—The Duke of Chandos mentioned as likely to receive the vacant Garter—Letter from his Grace to the Duke of Newcastle—Marriage of the Duke of Chandos to Lady Davall—The controversy concerning this lady fully discussed, and her identity substantiated—His Grace of Chandos made captain of the Yeoman of the Guard—The strained relations between King George II. and the Prince of Wales—His Majesty's opinion of Henry, Marquis of Carnarvon—Letter of condolence from the Duke of Chandos to Sir Robert Walpole—The Duke and Duchess of Chandos present at the private interment of Queen Caroline, consort of George II.

THE Duke of Montagu having given a quantity of workmen's tools, such as were used by carpenters, joiners, smiths, etc., to the settlers proceeding to the new State of Georgia, the Duke of Chandos and several of the nobility and gentry also became generous benefactors to the new Colony.

The townspeople of Bath availed themselves of the visit of the Prince of Orange to Bath,

previously alluded to, to name one of the squares of that town after his Highness. In further commemoration a pillar was erected in the centre of the square, bearing a Latin inscription which, translated, reads thus :—

“The Prince of Orange was happily restored to health by drinking the waters of Bath, through the favour of God, and to the extreme joy of Great Britain, 1735.”

The reader need not be reminded, that the Prince of Orange espoused the Princess Royal, daughter of George II.

The retailers of gossip were busy this year as usual, circulating the rumour that the Duke of Chandos was to have the Garter, vacant by the death of the Earl of Peterboro. This premature unofficial bestowal of the sovereign's favour was again wrong, for though his Grace received many other orders and favours, he never attained to that dignity.

About this period, 1736, it appears, by the following communication addressed to the Duke of Newcastle, that some persons had been either trespassing on, or damaging, his Grace's property in Herefordshire; the exact particulars are wanting. The following letter, however, throws a little light on the matter :—

“February 12th, 1736-7.

“MY LORD,—Pursuant to your Grace’s commands I write by this post to the Trustees of the turnpike in Herefordshire, for the original information they took concerning the cutting down that walk (which) was got up at Wilton, and to acquaint me. With the goodness of his Majesty, through your Grace’s instruction is pleased to show to me, by your issuing a proclamation offering a reward for the bringing to justice, any of the offenders; and so soon as I receive the original information I will have the honour to lay them before your Grace.

“I am with ye greatest truth and respect,

“My Lord,

“Your Grace’s

“Most obedient and

“Most humble Servant,

“CHANDOS.”

On April 14th, 1736, the Duke of Chandos entered the holy bonds of matrimony for a third time. The lady was not his equal in social rank, being the widow of Sir Thomas Davall, Kt., M.P. for Harwich, an opulent London merchant. Lady Davall brought the Duke 40,000*l.*, a small

sum in comparison with the formerly large fortune of his Grace. The marriage was not made for mercenary motives, though probably the bride's fortune was acceptable to the Duke in his then straitened circumstances. The wedding ceremony, which was almost of a private nature, took place at the residence of Lady Davall in Conduit Street, W.; the happy pair proceeding in the evening to his Grace's domain of Canons.

The truth concerning this marriage has been distorted, and, in many instances, erroneous accounts have been given of it. In fact, this is only one of many instances where the biographer or memoir writer has not hesitated to accept the *dicta* or *scripta* of one who may have heard or known a little of a circumstance, without being acquainted with the whole of the facts. In this way errors are perpetuated for generations, to the discredit of aspirants for literary fame. In the foregoing case the error was originated by one of Dean Swift's numerous correspondents, a Mrs. Pendarves, who, in an epistle to the Dean, under date of April 22nd, 1736, states :—

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“The Duke of Chandos's marriage has made

a great noise, and the poor Duchess is often reproached with (her) being bred up in Burr Street, Wapping."

.

Now the facts, so far as I have been able to discover, do not show that Lady Davall was either bred or born in Burr Street, Wapping—(Lower East Smithfield)—as at this period the Vanhattons, Vannottens, or Vanhattens (the name is spelt in various ways), of which family she was a member, were merchants of high repute residing in Devonshire Square, Bishopsgate, then considered a highly respectable place of residence for opulent city merchants. The family of Burr or Burre likewise followed mercantile pursuits, principally with Holland, and were brother merchants, long established in the parish of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, at Barking and elsewhere in Essex. It was upon a portion of this family's estate that Burr Street was built. The Davalls became connected with the Burrs by the marriage of the first Sir Thomas Davall, Kt., and M.P. for Harwich, with Rebecca, daughter and heiress of Daniel Burr or Burre of Amsterdam and London. This lady was the mother of a numerous

progeny, the eldest of whom received the honour of knighthood, and succeeded his father in the representation of Harwich, Essex, in which county he owned a good estate, principally through his mother, as heiress of the Burrs. This Sir Thomas's sister, Lydia, married John Vanhatten, thus connecting the three families of Burr, Davall, and Vanhatten. The above-named Sir Thomas, who married Lydia Catherine Vanhatten—John Vanhatten's sister—bequeathed by his will the greater portion of his estates in Essex, which he had inherited through his mother, to his cousin, David Burr; in fact, he gave back to this family their former possessions, leaving no issue of his own to inherit. Thus there is really little or no proof of the aspersions cast by Mrs. Pendarves on the bringing up of this lady; but they might have gone down to posterity unnoticed, except for the fact that every scrap of writing relating to the Dean of St. Patrick's has been collected and published, thumbed, and read for generations past, and quoted as fact by compilers until now: thus far for the first assertion. The second is far more ludicrous and also more erroneous than the first, and has been perpetuated by greater would-be authorities. This

is no less than the assertion that the third and last wife of the Duke of Chandos (Lady Davall), had been the wife of a brutal ostler, from whose violence the Duke was supposed to have rescued her at the George Inn, Glastonbury, or the Castle or Pelican’s hostel at Newbury or Winchester; the authorities themselves not being certain as to the locality. The Duke is then said to have sent her to school (having purchased her, or satisfied her husband for her loss) to remedy defects in her education, and to have married her later. It is most extraordinary how this romance concerning the third wife of the first Duke of Chandos has been handed down and believed. It has also served as plot for a writer of fiction, being worked into a novel by Miss Spence, in a work entitled, “How to be Rid of a Wife,” now a scarce book, though published only in the thirties of this century. This narrative, in which the noble ‘hero’ is termed Belmore, seems to have taken possession of the reflective faculties of a very estimable old gentleman named Clark (*circa* 1836), who published a book at this period entitled “Reminiscences of Handel,” in which he alludes to this matter as an absolute fact, though it was

unsupported by any trustworthy evidence, and goes so far as to assert that the lady was a Mrs. Carter. This is only further addition to the misconception, as the whole matter in no way concerns the first Duke of Chandos, or the lady who became his third wife. To Henry, the second Duke, son of the first holder of that dignity, must be assigned this strangely chivalrous proceeding—as such it is (at least, for the latter end of the so-termed “Augustan” age in England). Henry, when Marquis of Carnarvon, lost his first wife in 1738, and married his second on Christmas Day, 1744, four months after he had succeeded to the dukedom. This person was the reputed ostler’s wife or widow, Anne Wells or Jefferyes by name. Her family were in poor circumstances, as is testified by a gentleman of that period named Thicknesse, who states that upon arriving at Southampton from a visit to Jersey in 1752, he took lodgings opposite the market-place, and was daily accosted by a good-looking young woman who kept a stall there for the sale of greengrocery. Her naïve manner of saying, “Nothing in your way to-day, sir?” attracted Mr. Thicknesse’s attention. Afterwards he was informed by a friend that this marketwoman was one of the then Duchess of

Chandos' sisters. The next morning he asked for further information from her Grace's sister, who substantiated the report, adding to her interrogator's question, as to whether "her sister the Duchess took proper notice of her," "That she did, and though she had many sisters, her sister sent for them all up to London, when she would give them new clothes suitable to their station, send a servant to show them the sights of the town, besides make them a present of money, and pay their coach fare back to the country," concluding with "What else could she do? for we are not fit to sit down to the Duke's table." Mr. Thicknesse further asserts that the Duchess had been a pot-girl to an ale-house at Winchester, although, beyond the fact that she was of lowly origin, and her name Anne Wells or Jefferyes, there is no corroborative testimony that can be relied on to support the purchase from an ostler, or the wife theory. The Duchess died July 8th, 1757, and is stated to be buried in Keynsham Churchyard, Somerset. In an almost 'up to date' work,¹ the compiler follows and cites Mr. R. Clark's erroneous assertions concerning the third wife of the first Duke of Chandos. On the other hand,

¹ Cassell's Greater London.

the whole tenour of the article relating to the Duke bears evidence of a visit to Whitchurch, where the tomb in the monument room of the Brydges family, in the Whitchurch Parish Church, sets forth faithfully who the first Duke's third wife was, but appears to have been overlooked.

Though Society of that period no doubt looked down upon the Duchess because she was connected with 'trade,' the first Duke of Chandos found in her a good wife and a congenial companion, as his own testimony proves.

In the following year, 1737, his Grace received additional proofs of Royal favour, being appointed Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, in the room of the Earl of Ashburnham, deceased; his son Henry, Marquis of Carnarvon, was, however, in anything but good grace with his Majesty George II. at this time, as the following testifies.¹ Lord Hervey conversing with his Majesty George II. upon the strained relations between that monarch and the Prince of Wales, his Majesty replied to some comments made by Lord Hervey, saying: "That those about him, (the Prince of Wales) must see and feel this dis-

¹ Hervey Memoirs.

inction, and cannot fail, though he should not find it out, to represent it to him. Who about him," urged the King, "will tell it him? or who about him indeed has sense enough to find out anything? Who is there, but boobies, and fools, and roadmen he ever listens to?" Lord Hervey laughed, and the King went on: "Why, is it not so? There is my Lord Carnarvon,¹ a hot-headed, passionate half-witted coxcomb, with no more sense than his master. . . ."

This exhibition of warmth against his Grace of Chandos's son, did not prevent the King from showing friendship and favour to the Duke. The King's estimate of "my Lord Carnarvon" may probably explain that peer's later marriage with Anne Wells; it certainly shows him in a light that others have failed to throw upon him.

Lady Walpole, wife of the famous Sir Robert, the great minister during the reign of the first two Georges, died August 20th, 1737. Therefore, as one in corresponding Court favour, the Duke of Chandos pens the annexed letter of condolence to his friend, the bereaved husband. The letter bears date some months after the sad event; but news

¹ Henry, Marquis of Carnarvon, a Lord of the Prince's bed-chamber.

travelled slowly then, although this in itself does not account for the lapse. Probably his Grace was visiting at some distance from London when the event occurred; the delay, however, does not detract from the sympathy expressed.

“Canons, November 12th, 1737.¹”

“SIR,—I have just received the terrible news the town is so much alarmed with. The sincere respect and affection I have for you, fill me with such grief, that though I cannot be silent, I know not how to express myself. I condole with you from the bottom of my heart, on the very great and severe loss you are about to receive. I beg of God that His providence will continue, still in its full vigour, to those noble spirits and abilities, which have for such a number of years so wonderfully supported you, under the many heavy trials you have had. That this misfortune, great as it is to everyone, may be attended with no personal ill, is the most ardent prayer of

“&c. &c.”

“CHANDOS.”

During the following month of December, his Grace had another melancholy duty to perform;

¹ Cox's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, 1798.

no less than to be one of the attendants (with his Duchess) upon the chief mourners at the private interment of Queen Caroline, Consort of his Majesty George II., which took place the night of the 17th December, in the Collegiate Church, Westminster.

CHAPTER XX.

Death of the Marchioness of Carnarvon—The Duke of Chandos elected a Governor of the Foundling Hospital—His Grace's correspondence with the Duke of Newcastle at this period—Death of the Duke of Chandos, August 9th, 1744—Memorial lines—Inscription on his monument—His son Henry, Marquis of Carnarvon, takes his seat as 2nd Duke—Petitions for leave to bring in a Bill to sell part of the estate—Leave granted—Nature of the Bill, etc.—Library at Canons sold, *circa* 1745—Sale of pictures in London, removed from Canons—Catalogue of same—Remarks.

THE first wife of Henry, Marquis of Carnarvon, died at Twickenham, August 19th, 1738, after a long illness, leaving two children, a son and daughter, who, with many friends, public and private, mourned her loss. His second marriage was the romantic adventure alluded to in the preceding chapter, by which Anne Wells or Jeffreyes became Duchess of Chandos.

The Duke of Chandos, during 1739, was elected one of the Governors of the Foundling Hospital: evidently another tribute to the Duke's reputed business abilities, for the welfare of others, as they had not been altogether successful in his

own affairs. Except when discharging the duties connected with his office and Court appointments, the Duke now led an almost retired life; that he sometimes interested himself by aiding friends seeking appointment or promotion is shown in the following letter, addressed to the Duke of Newcastle :—

“ October 12th, 1741.¹

“ MY LORD,—His Majesty having been pleased, I understand, to give Colonel Murray leave to sell his commission, and leave it for ye Lords’ Regents to sign such other commissions as shall be necessary thereupon, and your Lordship having fixed upon Major Halden of ye 4th troop of Horse Guards to succeed him, I make it my humble request to yr Grace, that if you are not otherwise engaged, you will have ye goodness to notice with your powerful interest, ye pretensions of Captain Peters, Brigadier and Lieutenant in ye 3rd troop of Horse Guards, to succeed ye aforesaid Major Halden. This young gentleman is a neighbour of mine in ye country, hath been several years in the service in Lord Albemarle’s troop, and hath gained ye esteem of all who knew him. Your Grace taking notice of him on

¹ Newcastle MSS.

this occasion, will lay a great obligation on him, who, with greatest respect,

“ My Lord,

“ &c. &c.

“ CHANDOS.”

The Duke of Newcastle had long been acquainted with his brother peer; therefore no doubt the request was granted, as is confirmed by another favour demanded later.

The letter runs as follows, corroborating at the same time, that the Duke of Chandos resided in Cavendish Square, as the communication is addressed from—

“ Cavendish Square,¹

“ November 4th, 1743.

“ MY LORD,—Having heard that a new Commission of ye Peace is going to be made out for ye County of Middlesex, I humbly take ye liberty of putting your Grace in mind of the two gentlemen I recommended to you, viz. Mr. John Asgill Bucknall of Oxney, and Mr. Roger Smack of Watford, there is likewise another whom I trust ye will permit me to ask ye good favour for, a gentleman whose character is well known to ye

¹ Newcastle MSS.

Lord Chancellor, and who will be a very careful person in discharging the duty of that office, is in my neighbourhood, it is Mr. Francis Capper, Councillor-at-Law, of Lincoln's Inn.

"I am, with great respect,

" &c. &c.

"CHANDOS."

This triple request savours of 'Oliver asking for more,' but no doubt the Duke knew how far he might trespass on his Grace of Newcastle's good nature.

On the 9th of August, 1744, the Duke of Chandos paid that debt of Nature's which all mortals sooner or later must, dying at his seat of Canons, after an illness of three weeks.

Thus passed away one who played no mean part in the affairs of his country. Some may object to this assertion with respect to his post of Paymaster-General, held during the most brilliant part of Marlborough's career. But it will be scarcely necessary to remind the reader that no specific charge of fraud was made against his Grace; while the way in which the populace championed him proves that he was no ordinary man, being able to endear himself for a lifetime to such a fickle jade as Public Opinion,

for many would have been anathematized and disgraced, on a charge not a thousandth part so grave as that connected with the Pay Office. On the other hand, it must be admitted that much of the esteem he won was by his natural magnanimity and tact. This would lead one to imagine that the system then prevalent of conducting the public finances and offices was in fault, and not the man, as it is hard to suppose that a person credited with the good qualities his Grace was, could be guilty of striking out a 'crooked' path for himself. Should such a surmise be correct, then it is only just to admit that he followed in the footsteps of his predecessors, while the wars that raged during his tenure of office largely increased the funds passing through his hands, much to the benefit of "Self and Co."

The above is submitted with all due deference. The reader, however, will form his own opinion, being placed in possession of the most important facts—many published for the first time—relating to the Pay Office.

The following lines upon the death of the Duke were published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1744:—

“And he is gone, the gentlest noble mind,
The Lover and the Love of human kind,
Chandos, whose wealth by every virtue graced,
Showed how Heaven’s bounty shines when justly placed.
So true a judge, and patron to desert,
A hand so generous, and so pure a heart,
That innocence thro’ sorrow smiling beamed,
And *want*, with graceful eyes, his praise proclaimed.
All who could feel his warmth, his power confessed,
And all who felt it owned such greatness blessed,
Nor let the Muse, who feels his absence most,
Deplore his virtues or example lost.
A Brydges, formed by Heaven, is left behind,
Heir to his worth, his titles, and his mind,
Whose gentle ear, like his to me, shall bend,
Whom Science grateful shall revere her friend ;
This checks our anguish, for such Virtues gone,
Since all the Father’s merit marks the Son.”

Though this effusion to his Grace’s memory does not bear the stamp of the poet laureate of that period, it nevertheless shows the esteem in which the late Duke had been held. The last lines are open to doubt, or at least require corroboration.

The remains of the Duke were interred in the Brydges family vault, in the Parish Church of St. Lawrence, Whitechurch, or Little Stanmore. Over his body was erected a handsome marble monument, with a life-size figure of his Grace in a Roman dress, standing between his first and

second wives. Underneath is an inscription, of which the following is a translation :—

“ In hope of a joyful resurrection, here lieth the body of the most noble James Brydges, Duke of Chandos, Marquis and Earl of Carnarvon, Viscount Wilton, Baron Chandos of Sudeley, and a Baronet, member of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, Lord-Lieutenant and Custos Rostolorum of the County of Radnor, a High Steward of Cantremelewith, Chancellor of the University of St. Andrew's in Scotland, Ranger of Enfield Chace, one of the Governors of the Charter House, who was born January 6th, 1673, and departed this life August 9th, 1744. Whose modesty ordered all encomiums on his tomb to be avoided, yet justice to his memory and truth tell the reader that, if a youth spent in constant application to business, which tended more to the good of his country, and friends, than his own, a whole life passed in acts of greatest humanity, and charity, forgiving every one, and giving to the utmost of his power, ended an old age, dedicated to patience, resignation, and piety, deserve from mankind gratitude and love, they are most strictly his due.

“ He married first, Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Lake, of Canons, in Middlesex, by

whom he left the Most Noble Henry, Duke of Chandos ; his second wife was Cassandra, daughter of Sir Francis Willoughby of Wollaton, and sister to Thomas, Lord Willoughby ; his third wife was Lydia Catharine, daughter of John Vanhatten, Esq., and widow of Sir Thomas Davall, Kt., who was a Member of Parliament, and died in the year 1714."

Referring to a remark made in the preceding chapter, the following extract from his will will testify to the late Duke's opinion of his third wife : "I owe the greatest comfort I have enjoyed in this life—since I have been blessed with her—to my Duchess Lydia Catharine." He further expresses a wish that on her death she shall be buried in the vault with himself, also that her figure in marble shall be placed upon his monument at a cost of not more than 200*l*. This clause, owing to some disagreement with the second Duke, was not carried out in its entirety. Lydia, dowager-Duchess of Chandos, directed by her will that she should be interred at Stowe, but her remains were exhumed afterwards, and placed beside her husband the Duke at Whitchurch. The provision respecting the statue was, however, not fulfilled.

According to the law of primogeniture, Henry,

Marquis of Carnarvon, the eldest surviving son (five others having predeceased him) succeeded to the Dukedom of Chandos. The Marquis at this period was M.P. for Bishop's Castle, Shropshire; he was also Groom of the Stole to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. He took his seat in the House of Lords as second Duke, November 27th, 1744.

That the estate left by the late Duke was much encumbered, is proved by a Petition presented to the House of Lords by Henry, second Duke of Chandos, and Anne his wife, 1745,¹ on behalf of themselves, and Charles, Earl of Aylesbury—a trustee—for and on behalf of James Brydges (eventually third and last Duke of Chandos in direct descent), commonly called Marquis of Carnarvon, and Caroline Brydges, his sister, commonly called Lady Caroline Brydges, both infants, the only issue of the said Duke by Mary, his late wife, lately called Marchioness of Carnarvon, one of the daughters of the said Earl (Aylesbury). The Petition prays leave to bring in a Bill for sale of a sufficient part of the estates settled by deed of lease and release of the 31st of May, 1734, made in pursuance of the agreements entered upon, previous to the marriage of

¹ House of Lords Journals.

the said Duke, then styled Marquis of Carnarvon, to raise money to pay off certain mortgages, named in this petition, and for several other purposes.

The Petition was ordered to be referred to the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Mr. Baron Clarke, with the usual directions, according to the standing orders, duly reported on it. Leave was then given to bring in a Bill for the purposes asked, intituled 'An Act for vesting part of the settled estates of the Most Noble Henry, Duke of Chandos, in trustees for raising money to discharge encumbrances, etc.' The Bill, after having been discussed by a committee appointed by the House of Lords, was approved, and then sent down to the Lower House for confirmation.

Here is proof beyond cavil of the decadence of the 'Grand' Duke's fortune. During his latter days especially he managed to keep up appearances, and to reside at Canons until the last, but at the cost of encumbering the estate. The Bill above alluded to contained a clause for the sale of the mansion-house and effects at Canons. The first part sold was the library, during 1745. But little is known of the distribution of the late Duke's valuable collection of books and MSS.

It was not until 1747 that the mansion and effects were dispersed; it took nearly two years to prepare these for the auctioneer's hammer. The edifice itself was thought too large and costly for any possible tenant; it was therefore pulled down, and the materials were sold in lots.

The pictures were removed to London for sale, and, as a catalogue has been preserved, I am able to give an account of them, together with some comments upon them by that celebrated and discerning connoisseur George Vertue.

“A catalogue of the genuine collection of pictures of his Grace James, Duke of Chandos, lately deceased, consisting of a variety of valuable paintings (pictures) by the most celebrated Italian, French, and Flemish masters, which must be sold by auction, by Mr. Cock, at his house in the Great Piazza, Covent Garden, on Wednesday, May 6th, 1747, and the two following days.

“The said collection may be viewed at the place of sale, on Saturday, the 2nd of May, and every day after, Sunday excepted, till the time of sale, which will begin each day, at half an hour after eleven, catalogues of which may be had gratis, at Mr. Cock's aforesaid. Conditions of sale as usual.



THE DUKE OF CHANDOS' TOWN HOUSE IN CAVENDISH SQUARE.

“N.B.—In the last day will be sold (by order of the trustees, at the special desire of the creditors) his late Grace’s dwelling house in Cavendish Square,¹ with all the land thereunto belonging, and an equal moiety of the reservoir,² now let to the York Buildings Company, at 150*l.* per annum, payable to his Grace, agreeably to the printed conditions of sale, delivered gratis.

“And in each day’s sale will be sold four lots of marble statues (life-size), some time since brought from Naples.

“FIRST DAY’S SALE.

“WEDNESDAY, MAY 6TH, 1747.

1. Italian. The Decollation of St. John.
2. Holbein. Sir George Blage, three-quarters.
3. Raphael (after). A Madonna in a round.
4. „ A woman’s head, large as life.
5. Italian. A piper’s head.
6. „ A martyrdom.
7. „ A landscape.
8. „ Its companion.
9. Verelst. A piece of flowers.
10. Pelegrini. Mars and Venus.

¹ This must have been bought in or other arrangements arrived at, for ever since the first Duke’s death it remained in the possession of the family or their descendants until it was pulled down early in 1892. The house in the extreme right-hand corner of plate was the Duke of Chandos’, and a *replica* of the house at the other corner.

² This is the reservoir mentioned in connection with the York Buildings Waterworks.

11. Titian (after). A dead Christ.
12. „ A hermit with a death's head.
13. Cornelius Janssen. King Charles I.
14. Hendekooter. A piece of birds.
15. Perugino. A Madonna.
16. Poelenburgh. A small landscape and figures.
17. Marco Ricci. A neat landscape and figures, in water colours.
18. Marco Ricci. A sea triumph, on glass.
19. „ Apollo with figure, dancing, in *chiara-scuro*.
20. Guido. Jacob stealing the blessing from his brother Esau.
21. Guido. Its companion, Hagar and Ishmael.
22. Borgione. A battle.
23. „ Its companion.
24. Weenix. A boy fleaing a dog.
25. Italian. A Madonna with St. Francis.
26. „ Vandyke's head, with a sunflower.
27. „ A man's head, with a scroll of paper.
28. „ Its companion.
29. Raphael (after). The Virgin, our Saviour, and St. John.
30. Pietrida Cartona. The marriage of St. Catherine.
31. Weenix. A dead hare and birds.
32. „ A basket with flowers of curious needlework.
33. Raphael (after). The Transfiguration.
34. „ Heroditus with the head of St. John.
35. Paul Weenix. A Saint, with an angel and cross.
36. „ St. Francis, its companion.
37. Guercino. A boy bit by a lizard.
38. Gascar. A nobleman, half-length.
39. „ Its companion.
40. Mr. Wooton. A long landscape and figures.
41. „ A winter piece—its companion.
42. Titian. A man's head, with a pen in his ear.
43. Holbein. Ditto, with a book.
44. Romanelli. Danæ and the golden shower.

45. Wyck. A battle, three-quarters.
46. Titian. Susannah and the Elders.
47. Sir Peter Lely. Mrs. Franklin, half-length.
48. Palamedes. A consecration.
49. „ Its companion.
50. Schidone. The Virgin, our Saviour, St. Elizabeth and St. John.
51. Rottenhamer. The feast of the Gods.
52. David Teniers. A Dutch kitchen.
53. James Bassano. Jacob's journey into Egypt.
54. „ Its companion, Noah sacrificing after coming out of the Ark.
55. Guido. The flight into Egypt.
56. „ Its companion.
57. Miens. A young gentleman, a small half-length.
58. Gerard Dow. A Market.
59. Asland. Jupiter and Leda, in *chiara-scuro*.
60. Sir P. P. Rubens. The offering of the three kings.

“SECOND DAY'S SALE.

“MAY 7TH, 1747.

61. Holbein (after). A man's head, three-quarters.
62. „ Oliver Cromwell.
63. Spagnoletto. Lucretia.
64. Italian. A landscape and figures.
65. Buckhuysen. A sea piece.
66. Titian (after). A lady, half-length, with a lap-dog.
67. Holbein. Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.
68. Giorgione. A general, half-length.
69. Zeeman. Boys drawing by candle-light.
70. Franciscus Floris. A feast of the Gods.
71. Vandyck (the style of). A large family picture.
72. Father Seegero. A Holy Family, with a festoon of flowers.
73. Italian. Hercules and Omphale.

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74. Italian. A Madonna.
 75. „ A landscape in water colours.
 76. „ A Holy Family, in water colours.
 77. „ A Dead Christ.
 78. Vande Velde. A small sea piece.
 79. Douk v. Ryswich. A parrot in a festoon of flowers of mother-of-pearl, curiously inlaid.
 80. Paul Veronese (after). The marriage of St. Katherine.
 81. Laresse. A Bacchanalian.
 82. Holbein. A man's head in a round.
 83. „ A siege ; a drawing heightened with gold in a brass frame.
 84. Italian. A long landscape, with figures.
 85. Rembrandt. David and Nathan.
 86. Buckhuysen. A sea-piece.
 87. Luca Judano. The Virgin in the clouds.
 88. Holbein (after). A small half-length of Oliver Cromwell.
 89. Italian. A Madonna with other figures.
 90. Paul Veronese. The Adoration of the Kings.
 91. „ Its companion.
 92. Bredal. Two small landscapes with figures and houses.
 93. Rottenhamer. The Nativity.
 94. Rubens. Constantine, etc.
 95. Paul Veronese (the style of). The marriage of St. Katherine.
 96. Nicolas Poussin. Perseus with the head of Medusa.
 97. Rubens. Ceres with a cornucopia, and a Satyr with a flute.
 98. Rubens. A bas-relievo of Louis XIV. and sixty-three Intaglios of the ancient Kings of France.
 99. Rubens. A man playing on a guitar.
 100. A nun and a friar.
 101. Guercino. St. John.
 102. Titian (after). An Ecce Homo.
 103. Vandyck. A Holy Family.
 104. Jordans of Antwerp. A family picture.
 105. John de Bellini. A Holy Family.

106. Vandyck. A man's head, with a roll of paper in his hand.
107. Cornelius Janssen. Its companion.
108. Gerard Dow. Boys at school.
109. Vanderneo. A Magdalen.
110. Dobson. Mr. Killigrew, half-length.
111. „ King James I., a whole length on horseback.
112. Sir Peter Lely. Lady Dean, and Mrs. Franklin playing a guitar.
113. Sir G. Kneller. Mr. Knight, the famous singer and favourite of King Charles II., half-length.
114. Titian. A Holy Family, with St. Jerome.
115. Giorgione. A musical conversation.
116. Guido. A Madonna.
117. Salvator Rosa. St. George and the dragon.
118. Seb. Boudin. The finding of Moses.
119. N. Poussin. Hercules preferring Virtue to Vice.
120. Sir P. P. Rubens. Charles the Fifth of Spain, big as life, on horseback, with Fame holding an olive wreath.

“THIRD DAY'S SALE.

“MAY 8TH, 1747.

121. Two drawings in Indian ink, and a Chinese lady's head.
122. A Madonna in water colours.
123. Our Saviour and the Samaritan woman in water colours.
124. A limning of the Assumption of the Virgin.
125. A curious bas-relievo, in ivory, of Jupiter and Leda.
126. Poelenburgh. A Magdalen, with angels
127. Cornelius Janssen. A lady, half-length.
128. Titian. A Holy Family.
129. Giorgione (school of). The martyrdom of St. Peter.
130. Wyck. A landscape with figures and horses.
131. „ Its companion.
132. Carlo Dala. Our Saviour's head, an oval.

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133. Carlo Dala. Its companion.
 134. Cornelius Janssen.—Hervey, Esq., three-quarters.
 135. Romanelli. Lot and his daughters.
 136. Lucca Jordan (after). A Venus.
 137. Verelst. Two pictures of the seasons.
 138. P. Anullo. A large piece of still life.
 139. Italian. St. John.
 140. Titian. A cardinal, half-length.
 141. Sir G. Kneller. The Duke of Marlborough.¹
 142. Vandyck. A charity.
 143. V. Vande Velde. A sea fight.
 144. Wyck. A large battle.
 145. „ An old man's head, three-quarters.
 146. „ Its companion.
 147. Vandyck (after). King Charles the First, in three attitudes.
 148. Vandyck. A Madonna with angels, in a landscape.
 149. N. Poussin (after). A sacrifice to Bacchus.
 150. Laroon. A conversation, in an oval.
 151. Paris Bourdon. A Madonna and a St. John.
 152. Poelenburgh. Cimon and Iphigenia.
 153. Walker. King Charles I. (painted when a prisoner at Hampton Court) and the Prince of Wales.
 154. Seb. Ricci.² The Salutation of the Virgin, a design for one of the chapel windows at Canons, and the worshipping of the golden calf, its companion.
 155. Seb. Ricci. Two ditto of the Nativity and the Ascension of our Saviour.
 156. Seb. Ricci. Two ditto, the stoning of Stephen, and our Saviour with two disciples at Emmaus.
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¹ Though the Duke of Marlborough does not appear to have been on friendly terms with his brother peer, he entertained sufficient respect for the great General to have his portrait at whole length by the first delineator of that day.

² Sebastiani Ricci. Italian artist, 1670—1734.

157. Seb. Ricci. Two ditto of St. John baptizing our Saviour, and the healing of the lamb,
158. Seb. Ricci. Two ditto, the Virgin and St. Elizabeth, and the Adoration of the Kings.
159. Seb. Ricci. Two ditto of our Saviour walking on the sea, and the conversion of St. Paul.
160. Eight cartoons, after Raphael.
161. M. Angelo de Battaglia. A conversation.
162. Paul Veronese. Our Saviour's Passion in the garden.
163. N. Poussin. A Bacchanalian.
164. Holbein. Erasmus, a small three-quarters.
165. Rottenhamer. Silenus with nymphs.
166. David Teniers. A gallery.
167. Titian. A Dead Christ.
168. Taddeo Zaccaro. The entombing of our Saviour.
169. „ Nine miniatures of King Charles II., etc.
170. Gerard Dow. A gentleman playing the violin.
171. „ A lady playing the virginal.
172. „ Its companion, a woman with a basket of fruit.
173. Sir P. Lely. The Duke and Duchess of York, half-length.
174. Rubens. A sleeping Venus, a Hermit, and the Devil.
175. Pordinone. The Virgin, our Saviour, and St. John.
176. Rubens. The tribute money.

“N.B.—Cavendish House, and the lands thereunto belonging, to be sold in six lots agreeably to the printed conditions of sale.

“FINIS.”

The above constituted a small but select collection of pictures by old and modern masters. If those without names attached and the copies are omitted, the number is considerably reduced, though the quality remains. Had the examples

of Holbein, Titian, Rubens, Paul Veronese, Salvator Rosa, Gerard Dow, David Teniers, Guido, Sir Peter Lely, and Sir Geoffrey Kneller, alone been retained by the second Duke, his descendants would have been able to dispose of them, at the present day, for far more than their weight in gold. What some were then sold, or rather sacrificed for, will be seen in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXI.

George Vertue's notes on some of the pictures sold from Canons—Sale of the mansion in lots, and other effects—Ultimate destination of some of the most noteworthy parts of the chapel and edifice—Sale of the advowson of St. Lawrence, Whitechurch, and of the Manor of Totteridge—The Duke, as Groom of the Stole to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, receives commands from H.R.H. respecting the wearing of French stuffs by his Court—The statue of King George I. from Canons re-erected and uncovered, November 19th, 1748—The second Duke of Chandos known to have resembled his father in one particular at least—Finis.

GEORGE VERTUE, engraver, connoisseur, and art critic, attended the sale of the late Duke of Chandos' pictures, and with the minuteness of detail that characterized him, has left a MS. account of his visit, together with the prices fetched by several of the most noteworthy pictures. These in some instances were low enough to make many collectors of to-day wish they had lived in the times of long ago, if only to have benefited their descendants, when such works of art could be purchased at prices that embryo academicians of to-day would consider too paltry for even their immature efforts.

Vertue acknowledges that in the Duke's collection were many curious pictures, and thought lot 47; by Sir Peter Lely, a very fine specimen of that master. Lely's picture sold for the magnificent sum of 12*l.* 10*s.*; whilst lot 52, a specimen of that great Dutch master David Teniers, depicting "a Woman asleep in a kitchen," and pronounced by this authority "a complete picture," changed hands at 35½ guineas. Lot 59, a long drawing in chiaro-scuro by Asland, he mentions "as worthy of record;" lot 97, a fine piece of clear transparent colouring, representing "Ceres with a cornucopia, and a Satyr with a flute," by the great Peter Paul Rubens, was knocked down for 45 guineas; lot 108, "Boys at School," by Gerard Dow, sold for 42*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* Eight sketches in oil for the chapel windows at Canons, by Seb. Ricci, fetched 48 guineas (gold frames included); lot 160, eight cartoons in water colours, after those of Raphael at Hampton Court, by Goupy, sold for 17*l.* 6*s.* (the Duke paid Goupy 300 guineas for them); lot 170, a fine specimen of Gerard Dow, dated 1636, was bought for 88½ guineas; its companion, lot 171, "A Lady playing on the Virginals," found a purchaser at 50*l.* 10*s.*; another specimen of this master's art, lot 172, changed hands at 64 guineas; lot 173, by Sir

Peter Lely, "The Duke and Duchess of York," fetched only 14*l.* 10*s.*

The foregoing will give an idea of the artistic value of the collection as a whole, and may tend to enlighten art lovers as to the value of the old masters at that period. It also informs us in whose possession these works have been, and confirms their authenticity.

A month or so following the dispersion of the pictures, the contents of the mansion at Canons were sold; and so numerous were the lots that it became the rage, for the moment, for persons to possess something as having once belonged to the 'Grand' Duke or 'Princely' Chandos; therefore few who attended came away empty. The *finale* arrived at last, and Canons, as a ducal residence, ceased to exist, being razed to the ground and the materials sold in lots. The greater part of the materials were bought with the estate by Mr. William Hallett, a wealthy upholsterer of Long Acre, London, who purchased the several lots at such a low price, as to enable him, after erecting a fair-sized residence upon a portion of the old site, to acquire almost a small fortune by the judicious re-sale of material not required for his own purposes. The two porters' lodges

he allowed to remain, having them transformed, by skilful additions and alterations, into handsome villas, which were afterwards inhabited by Colonel Lindsay and F. Aitken, Esq. The whole of the building materials brought the trustees only 11,000*l.*, or about five per cent. of their original cost, a shrinkage never anticipated by the noble founder of Canons, but fully corroborating the old saying, "Fools build and wise men buy;" although this implies that if there were no fools there would be no buyers.

The most important and handsome parts of this unfortunate residence found other resting places. The great portico and pillars were purchased by Earl Tylney, for his magnificent but unfortunate mansion, erected afterwards at Wanstead.¹

The marble staircase and pillars of the grand entrance hall were sold to the Earl of Chesterfield, who used them to beautify his house in Mayfair, and where they still are. The witty Stanhope was wont to term these his 'canonical' pillars.

Among the numerous and costly articles of *vertu* was a piece of carving, by the famous

¹ There are many prints of this mansion still extant.



PRESENT HOUSE AT CANONS.

Grinling Gibbons, representing the Stoning of Stephen; the architectural parts of the design were particularly well executed. This carving had remained for many years at the carver's house at Deptford, where he followed the pursuit of ship carving, until it was unearthed by John Evelyn, who furthered Gibbons' interests by recommending him to the notice of King Charles II., who appointed him his wood carver. This post he held during the four succeeding reigns. The piece of carving from Canons was purchased by the owner of Bush Hill Park, Enfield, whose hall it adorned for many years.

The handsome altar, pulpit, font and pews (arranged like choir stalls when in the private chapel at Canons, demolished with the rest of the building) and attributed to Grinling Gibbons, though more probably done under his supervision, were purchased by — Freeman, Esq., of Fawley Court, Bucks, and set up in Fawley Church. There they remained intact until recently.¹

¹ The respected rector of this parish, the Rev. W. Afric Tanner, M.A., courteously informs me that some six years ago many of the oak seats were found to be so much worm-eaten and affected with dry rot, that the church was resealed, though as much of the old material was used as possible. He confirms my already expressed opinion that the carving appears to be by different hands; a document in the parish chest verifies the statement that this wood-work came from Canons.

The organ,¹ by the Jordans, is said to have gone to the Church of St. John's, Southover, (Lewes). This is incorrect, as it was purchased for Trinity Church, Gosport, where it remains, and is substantiated by a note to be found in Hopkins' work on the Organ. The Chandos coat of arms on the top of the instrument also confirms it. Further proof exists in the form of a printed document, dated 1748, in possession of Mr. Howlett, at one time the church organist, showing a kind of Dr. and Cr. account concerning its acquirements, etc., which runs thus:—

	£	s.	d.
To cash paid Mr. Cock (the auctioneer) for the organ as it stood at Canons	117	12	0
To Mr. Jordan for taking it down, and carriage to London	16	0	0
To Mr. Jordan for repairs	105	0	0
To do. for new swell	30	0	0
To do. for repairs and carriage to Gosport	8	0	0

The above, with other curious items, make the total cost 344*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.*

The stained glass window is stated by the learned Dr. Hughson (author of a "History of Middlesex"), to have been purchased by the parish of Great Malvern. Present day confirma-

¹ Out of the private chapel.

tion of this is wanting, as no record of such a purchase has been found by Mr. Notts, the compiler of an exhaustive work on the historical and interesting Parish Church of Great Malvern. The writer admits, however, that during the eighteenth century this church was neglected to the greatest degree, and much of the magnificent stained glass ruthlessly smashed by mischievous schoolboys, also that one window at this period was sold to eke out a churchwarden's account! But, even now, for all its vicissitudes, the edifice contains some of the finest old stained glass in the country.

The magnificent wrought iron railings, that at one time closed the southern entrance to Canons, now part the gardens of New College, Oxford, though, strange to say, the learned and courteous head of the college, Dr. Sewell, informs me that no record of their acquirement can be found amongst the archives of that institution; but he admits that tradition confirms their purchase from Canons. Probably the 'powers that were' in those days at the head of "New" desired some memento of one who had received his education at its hands, therefore they embellished their grounds with a piece of the art of Tubal, said to have been the

work of a celebrated hammersmith of that time. A specimen of the handicraft of the latter may still be seen without journeying to Oxford, in the gate to the monument room of the Brydges family at St. Lawrence, Whitechurch. Some railings, of less beauty and design, though singularly graceful, were bought by the parish of St. John, Hampstead. These consist of gates (one¹ still closes the main entrance to the church) and part of the railings that enclose the church. By the favour of the Rev. Sherrard Burnaby, M.A., vicar of the parish, I am able to corroborate the foregoing statement by the church records. "That at a meeting of the trustees of the parish church, 15th June, 1747, Mr. Sanderson, surveyor, stated that there was a quantity of iron gates and pallisadoes (palisades) to be sold at a public auction, at Canons, the seat of the (late) Duke of Chandos, etc. 'Agreed' That Mr. Vincent and Mr. Marl be desired to go to Canons, with Mr. Sanderson, and view the above-said, etc., and if approved, bid for and purchase such part, as they think proper for the purpose aforesaid." "At a meeting the 19th June, 1747, Mr. Vincent and Mr. Marl reported that they had bought at the sale at Canons, about fifty-nine

¹ Said to be the private chapel gate.



RAILING IN NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD.

feet of iron pallisadoes (palisades) at 14s. 6d. per cwt., the stone coping and brickwork under it—then—included.” “On the 25th July, 1747, Mr. Vincent and Mr. Marl reported that they have bought one other lot at the sale at Canons, being two side iron gates, each about nine feet wide, at 15s. 6d. per cwt.”

Among the other removes were some curiously wrought copper-gilt lamps, having stone pediments for their bases, and used to light the grand avenue. One of similar make, on a much larger scale, lit the entrance hall. Some of these were to be seen (so that well-known antiquarian, John Timbs, affirms) at Day and Martin's old premises in Holborn a few years since. The author recollects an antique lamp of singular design hanging over the entrance there; probably this was from Canons. No present member of the firm can affirm anything further than that some old lamps were on the old premises at one time.

The Brydges family severed their connection with the domain of Canons so thoroughly as to dispose of the advowson to the Church of St. Lawrence, Whitechurch, on which the late Duke had spent large sums of money.

So departed the glory of Canons! Into the

history of the past went its magnificence and splendour. Fate, however, has been kinder to this spot than to many, as it has not yet been devoured by the railway demon or ruthlessly cut up for building. Though circumscribed, it is still a charming residential property, retaining almost intact the so-called "villa" erected by Hallett, since whose time the estate has changed owners repeatedly. Among the most noteworthy possessors of this historical place was Dennis O'Kelly, the owner of the famous racehorse Eclipse, who was buried in his time in its grounds, only to be unearthed and the skeleton exhibited in Mr. Bullock's Museum at the Egyptian Hall later. Sir Thomas Plumer, Master of the Rolls, was one of the next possessors of the estate. May it long continue to remain an historical property.

Whether the amount received by the disposal of the estate of Canons, etc., was insufficient for the purposes desired can only be surmised by the fact that the following year, 1748, the manor of Totteridge was sold by the Duke or his Trustees, though the adjacent manor of Kingsbury, the nearest to their late possession (Canons), was retained. The assumption is that the produce of the previous sale had failed to attain the desired ends.

It is not the purpose of this work to follow the career or fortunes of the second Duke of Chandos; they were but commonplace. However, the following may be of interest, in these days of Fair Trade demonstrations. On November 19th, 1748, the Princess of Wales' birthday, H.R.H. the Prince held a reception, and noticing several lords handsomely attired in clothes of French materials, desired his Groom of the Stole (the Duke of Chandos) to acquaint them, and all his servants, that after that day he would be much displeased to see them appear in materials of French manufacture. The same notice was also communicated to the ladies.¹

This birthday reception took place at Leicester House (Leicester Fields), and on the occasion the statue of George I., lately brought from Canons, and re-erected in the centre of that space, was uncovered.

(Referring to the footnote on page 68 of this work, respecting a recent publication on Leicester Square, in which the date, 1748, for the re-erection of this statue, is doubted, my authority for it being correct is the November number of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1748.—AUTHOR.)

¹ Here is a case of 'history repeating itself,' as, in 1668, both Houses of Parliament requested King Charles to give similar commands to his courtiers.

The second Duke of Chandos did not inherit all his father's good qualities, but he imitated him in one respect—he ventured into the bonds of matrimony for a third time ! True, his means were insignificant in comparison to his father's at one time, but had he possessed the same wealth, it is doubtful whether there would have been another ' Princely ' Chandos.

FINIS.

APPENDIX A.

TO MR. BRYDGES.¹

Camp at Lens le Béguines.

July 13th, 1705.

SIR,—I am favoured with your letter of the 19th of June, and am very glad that upon your return, with success,² from your election, you found your patent ready for entering into the pay office. I assure myself of your faithful endeavours for the service of her Majesty, and advantage of the troops, will not be lost there, than they have been in other employments.

It will be much for your care to begin your accounts on a clear footing, and what you have already remitted for the Army, is a good presage of your future care of them, in which you will not want my Lord Treasurer's assistance, so you may depend on my endeavours to make your office as agreeable, as you may desire.

I am,

With truth, Sir,

Yours, &c.

MARLBOROUGH.

¹ Lieut.-Gen. Murray's Marlborough's Letters and Dispatches, 1845.

² Re-election for Hereford, upon accepting appointment.

APPENDIX B.

Camp at Terbanck,
2nd July, 1708.

TO MR. BRYDGES.¹

SIR,—I was very glad to understand by your favour of the 4th ult., that you were returned to Town,² with so much satisfaction and success. The provision that was made for you in another place, when you found yourself opposed at Hereford, will I hope convince you of the just sense your friends have of your inclinations, and abilities to serve her Majesty and the nation. You may be assured I shall be always ready to promote what may be agreeable to you.

I believe our long continuance in the camp has been a great disappointment to our friends at home. I assure you it has been no less so to me, after the measures I had concerted with the Elector of Hanover, and Prince Eugene in April last, but I hope we shall be able in a little time to send you some good news, for I have an account that Prince Eugene's Army has been on the march towards us these four days. The Prince himself designs to be at Maestricht the 4th, in order to come directly to the camp, and the horse three or four days after, and if they can join us before the enemy have their troops from the Saire, I think we need desire nothing more.

I am with truth,
Sir, &c.

M.

APPENDIX C.

Brussels, February 4th, 1709.

TO MR. BRYDGES.¹

SIR,—I received two days since your favour of the 2nd

¹ Lieut.-Gen. Murray's Marlborough's Letters and Dispatches, 1845.

² Speaking of his re-election for Hereford.

of January, and though I am very sensible I may depend upon your friendship, yet I am not sorry you received the opportunity of expressing it on the late occasion, in the manner you might have been inclined to do, for I am of opinion that in those matters the less said the better. I hope my services will need no apology with good men, and as long as they may be of any benefit to the public I shall be very little concerned at the endeavours any others may use to lessen them.

I am very glad my Lady Marlborough has given you such perfect satisfaction upon the late groundless discourse of removes, and shall myself readily embrace all opportunities of assuring you that I am with truth

&c. &c.

M.

APPENDIX D.

Camp before Douay,
15th May, 1710.

TO MR. BRYDGES.¹

SIR,—I have received your obliging letter of the 24th past, and return you thanks, for your kind congratulations on the successful opening of the campaigns. . .

I am very well satisfied, I may always depend on your friendship, and shall be glad on all occasions to give you first assurances of the truth.

Wherewith I am,

Sir, &c. &c.

M.

17th July, 1710.

TO MR. BRYDGES.¹

SIR,—I received yesterday the favour of your letter of the

¹ Lieut.-Gen. Murray's Marlborough's Letters and Dispatches, 1845.

21st of June, and am very much obliged to you for the kind part you take in our successes here, we should be very happy if they could contribute towards quieting and calming the ferment at home, which otherwise may unravel whatever it is possible for us to do on this side. I am glad Lady Marlborough prevented you in your application to succeed Mr. Howe. I assure you, no man but yourself shall have my good wishes towards it, and whenever the employment became vacant, I will readily do my part in such a manner as you shall think most effectual.

Being with truth,
Sir, &c. &c.

M.

APPENDIX E.

{September 8th, 1710.

TO MR. BRYDGES.¹

SIR,—I am favoured with your letter of the 18th past, and am very sensible of the concern you were in at the removal of my Lord Treasurer, you may guess by it what mine must have been, not only from the friendship and intimacy that has been so long between us, but more particularly for the sake of the public, which ought to be our chief care, therefore I cannot but approve of your resolution of continuing your employment, since I am persuaded it can never be in better hands, and while I have anything to say, I am sure you cannot doubt of my friendship.

I was glad to see by your letter to Mr. Cardonel, you had made such considerable remittances for the troops, with promise of 100,000*l.* more the week following, which I hope is come over, our regular subsistence here being of the last consequence to

¹ Lieut.-Gen. Murray's Marlborough's Letters and Dispatches, 1845.

the Service. I cannot help mentioning to you on this occasion the daily clamours I have from the Prussian troops for want of the payment of their last winter's quarters, and must pray, you will take immediate care, to ease me of their importunities.

I am with truth, &c., &c.,

M.

APPENDIX F.

Hague,
March 31st, 1711.

To MR. BRYDGES.¹

SIR,—I am so much obliged to you for your letter of the 26th February, that I cannot omit my thanks for it, and in return for the fresh assurances you give me of your friendship, I pray you will believe nothing in my power shall ever be wanting, that may convince you of the sincerity of mine.

We have been very much disappointed for want of timely remittances for the forage. I have directed Mr. Cardonel² to write you as formerly, on this subject, to whom, therefore, I pray you will be referred.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c., &c.,

M.

APPENDIX G.

July 22nd, 1711.

To MR. BRYDGES.³

SIR,—As busy as I am of a post night, I cannot omit writing

¹ Lieut.-Gen. Murray's Marlborough's Letters and Dispatches, 1845.

² His private secretary.

³ Parkes' Life of Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke.

to you upon a subject wherein I think myself particularly concerned. Mr. Blake made a very considerable provision of all sorts of stores for the expedition commanded by Brigadier Hill, as those preparations both for land and sea, were kept private, and went almost singly through my hands; so it fell to my share to contract on this occasion, by the Queen's Commands. The poor man I believe is half broke by being kept so long out of his money, after having extended his credit to the utmost stretch. My Lord Treasurer has promised to give dispatch to this affair, and I am confident will do it, even to-morrow morning, if you are so kind as to demand the money. Mr. Blake is in danger of being arrested. I am sure I had rather be so, than teased at the rate I have been about this matter. I beg your assistance herein, and shall take it for as great a favour, as if I was personally concerned in it.

I am, &c., &c.,

H. ST. JOHN.

APPENDIX H.

Camp at Lens,

July 16th, 1711.

TO MR. BRIDGES.¹

SIR,—Your letter of the 9th of the last month is come safe to hand, and gives me fresh instances of your friendship, which I shall always depend upon, as you may that nothing shall be wanting, as far as lies in my power to make you suitable return. We must continue to do our duty, and so long as I think, neither malice or envy can do us much harm, you will oblige me in continuing to let me know what you think may be worth my notice, and pray believe me with great sincerity,

Sir, &c., &c.,

M.

¹ Lieut.-Gen. Murray's Marlborough's Letters and Dispatches, 1845.

APPENDIX I.

Camp,
October 1st, 1711.

TO MR. BRYDGES¹ of the Ordnance.

SIR,—As I always intended the accounts of the application of the money issued at the Exchequer, for the building of Blenheim, should be audited with all the strictness possible, for the satisfaction of her Majesty and the public, though otherwise I am no ways accountable for it. I should be very much obliged to you, if you would take the trouble upon you, with the assistance of Mr. Mercaton and Mr. Mead or such other, as you shall think proper, who may begin the examination immediately. And upon my return, which I hope may be in less than two months, I will give you such powers or other assistance, as shall be thought necessary, being well assured my Lord Treasurer will fully approve of what you shall do therein.

I am with truth,
Sir, &c., &c.,
M.

¹ Lieut.-Gen. Murray's Marlborough's Letters and Dispatches, 1845.

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